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SIDNEY HOWARD GAY, Editor.

Without Concealment....Without Compromise.

EDMUND QUINCY,
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Selections.

LETTER FROM MR. WEBSTER,
IN REPLY
To a Letter from Citizens of Newburyport.

Washington, May 15, 1850.

Gentlemen—I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter, of the 8th of April, approving the sentiments of my speech, delivered in the Senate on the 7th of March last. As considerable differences of opinion prevail in Massachusetts on the subject of that speech, it is grateful to receive, in a letter so respectably and numerously signed, opinions so decidely concurring with my own.

Circumstances have occurred, within the last twenty years, to create a new degree of feeling at the North, on the subject of Slavery; and from being considered, as it was at the adoption of the Constitution, mainly as a political question, it has come to be regarded with unusual warmth, as a question of religion and humanity. It is obvious enough that the Government of the United States has no control over Slavery, as it exists in the several States. Its proper jurisdiction in this respect, is confined to its own territories, except so far as it is its duty to see that that part of the Constitution, which respects the surrender of fugitive slaves, be carried fairly and honestly into execution.

The Constitution of the United States, in the 2d section of the 4th article, declares:

> A person charged in any State with treason, felony or other crime, who shall flee from justice, and be found in another State, shall, on demand of the executive authority of the State from which he fled, be delivered up to be removed to the State having jurisdiction of the crime.
>
> No person held to service or labor in one State, under the laws thereof, escaping into another, shall, in consequence of any law or regulation therein, be discharged from such service or labor, but shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such service or labor may be due.

This provision of the Constitution seems to have met with little exception or opposition, or none at all, so far as I know, in Massachusetts. Every body seems to have regarded it as necessary and proper. The members of the convention of that State for adopting the Constitution were particularly jealous of every article and section, which might in any degree entrench on personal liberty. Every page of their debates evinces this spirit. And yet I do not remember that any one of them found the least fault with this provision. The opponents and deriders of the Constitution of this day have sharper eyes in discerning dangers to liberty than General Thompson, Holder Slocum, and Major Nason had, in 1788; to say nothing of John Hancock, Samuel Adams, and others friends of the Constitution; and among them the very eminent men who were delegates in that Convention from Newburyport: Rufus King, Benjamin Greenleaf, Theophilus Parsons and Jonathan Titcomb.

The latter clause quoted above, it may be worth while to remark, was borrowed, in substance, from the celebrated Ordinance of 1787, which was drawn up by that great man of your own country, and a cotemporary of your fathers, Nathan Dane.

Mr. Dane had a very venerable New England authority for the insertion of this provision in the ordinance which he prepared.

In the year 1643 there was formed a confederation between the four New England colonies, Massachusetts Bay, Plymouth, Connecticut, and New Haven; and in the 8th article of that confederation it is stipulated as follows, viz:

> It is also agreed, that if any servant run away from his master into any other of these confederated jurisdictions, that, in such cases, upon the certificate of one magistrate in the jurisdiction out of which the said servant fled, or upon other due proof, the said servant shall be delivered, either to his master, or to any other that pursues, and brings such certificate or proof."—And in the "Articles of Agreement," entered into in 1650, between the New England Colonies and "the delegates of Peter Stuyvesant, Governor of New Netherland," it was stipulated that "the same way and course concerning fugitives should be observed between the English Colonies and New Netherland, as has been established in the "Articles of Confederation" between the English Colonies themselves.

On the 12th of Febuary, 1793, under the administration of Gen. Washington, Congress passed an act for carrying into effect both these clauses of the Constitution. It is entitled, "*An act respecting fugitives from justice, and persons escaping from the service of their masters.*"

The first two sections of this law provide for the case of fugitives from justice; and they declare, that whenever the executive authority of any State, or territory, shall demand any person as a fugitive from justice, of the executive authority of any State or territory to which such persons shall have fled, and shall produce the copy of an indictment, or an affidavit made before a magistrate, charging the person so demanded, with having committed treason felony, or other crime, certified as authentic by the governor or chief magistrate of the State or territory from whence the person so charged fled, it shall be the duty of the executive authority of the State or territory to which such person shall have fled, to cause him or her to be arrested or secured, and notice of the arrest to be given to the executive authority making such demand, or to the agent of such authority appointed to receive the fugitive, and to cause the fugitive to be delivered to such agent when he shall appear; but if no such agent shall appear within six months, the prisoner may be discharged; and all costs or expenses incurred by arresting, securing, or transmitting the fugitive, shall be paid by the State or territory making the demand And that any agent who shall receive such fugitive into his custody, shall be authorized to transport him to the State or territory from which he fled. And any person rescuing or setting such person at liberty, shall, on conviction, be fined not exceeding five hundred dollars, and be imprisoned not exceeding one year.

The last two sections of the act respect persons held to labor in any of the United States or territories, escaping into any other State or territory; and in these words:

> Sec. 3. *And be it further enacted*, That when a person held to labor in any of the United States, or in either of the territories northwest or south of the river Ohio, under the laws thereof, shall escape into any other of the said States or territories, the person to whom such labor or service is due, his agent or attorney, is hereby empowered to seize or arrest such fugitive from labor, and to take him or her before any judge of the circuit or district courts of the United States, residing or being within the State, or before any magistrate of a county, city, or town corporate, wherein such seizure or arrest shall be made; and upon proof, to the satisfaction of such judge or magistrate, either by oral testimony, or affidavit taken before and certified by a magistrate of any such State or territory, that the person so seized or arrested doth, under the laws of the State or territory from which he or she fled, owe service or labor to the person claiming him or her, it shall be the duty of such judge or magistrate to give a certificate thereof to such claimant, his agent or attorney which shall be sufficient warrant for removing the said fugitive from labor to the State or territory from which he or she fled.
>
> Sec. 4. *And be it further enacted*, That any person who shall knowingly and willingly obstruct or hinder such claimant, his agent or attorney, in so seizing or arresting such fugitive from labor, or shall rescue such fugitive from such claimant, his agent or attorney, when so arrested, pursuant to the authority herein given or declared; or shall harbor or conceal such person after notice that he or she was a fugitive from labor, as aforesaid, shall for either of the said offences, forfeit and pay the sum of five hundred dollars. Which penalty may be recovered by and for the benefit of such claimant, by action of debt, in any court proper to try the same; saving, moreover, to the person claiming such labor or service, his right or action for, or on account of, the said injuries, or either of them [Approved, February 12, 1793.]

It will be observed, that in neither of the two cases, does the law provide for the trial of any question whatever, by jury, in the State in which the arrest was made, The fugitive from justice is to be delivered on the production of an indictment, or a regular affidavit, charging the party with having committed the crime; and the fugitive from service is to be removed to the State from which he fled, upon proof, before any authorized magistate in the State where he may be found, either by witness or affidavit, that the person claimed doth owe service to the party claiming him, under the laws of the State from which he fled. In both cases, the proceeding is to be preliminary and summary; in both cases, the party is to be removed to the State from which he fled, that his liabilities, and his rights may all be there regularly tried and adjudged, by the tribunals of that State according to its laws. In the case of an alledged fugitive from justice, charged with crime, it is not to be taken for granted, in the State to which he fled, that he is guilty. Nor in that State is he to be tried or punished. He is only to be remitted for trial, to the place from which he came. In the case of the alledged fugitive from service, the courts of the State in which he is arrested are not to decide that, in fact, or in law, he does owe service to any body. He, too, is only to be remitted, for an inquiry into his rights, and their proper adjudication, to the State from which he fled; the tribunals of which understand its laws, and are in the constant habit of trying the question of Slavery or no Slavery, on the application of individuals, as an ordinary exercise of judicial authority.—There is not a slave State in the Union, in which independent judicial tribunals are not always open to receive and decide upon petitions or applications for freedom; nor do I know, nor have I heard it alleged, that the decisions of these tribunals are not fair and upright. Such of them as I have seen evince, certainly, these qualities in the judges.

This act of Congress, of the 12th of February, 1793, appears to have been well considered, and to have passed with little opposition. There is no evidence known to me, that any body at the time regarded any of its provisions as repugnant to religion, liberty, the constitution or humanity. The two Senators of Massachusetts at that time, were that distinguished legislator and patriot of our own country, George Cabot; and that other citizen of Massachusetts, among the most eminent of his day for talent, purity of character, and every virtue, Caleb Strong. Mr. Cabot indeed, was one of the Committee for preparing the bill. It appears to have passed the Seuate without a division. In the House of Representatives it was supported by Mr Goodhue and Mr. Gerry, both then, I believe, of your county of Essex, (Mr. Goodhue, afterwards a Senator of the United States, and Mr. Gerry, afterwards Vice President of the United States,) Mr. Ames, Mr. Bourne, Mr. Leonard, and Mr. Sedgwick, all members from Massachusetts; and was passed by a majority of *forty-eight to seven*; of these *seven*, one being from Virginia, one from Maryland, one from New York, and four from the New England States; and of these four, one, Mr. Thacher, from Massachusetts.

I am not aware that there exists any published account of the debate on the passage of this act. I have been able to find none. I have searched the original files, however, and I find among the papers several propositions for modifications and amendments of various kinds—but none suggesting the propriety of any jury trial in the State where the party should be arrested.

For many years little or no complaint was made against this law—nor was it supposed to be guilty of the offences and enormities which have since been charged upon it. It was passed for the purpose of complying with a direct and solemn injunction of the constitution: it did no more than was believed to be necessary to accomplish that single purpose; and it did that in a cautious, mild manner, to be everywhere conducted according to judicial proceedings.

I confess I see no more objection to the provisions of this law, than was seen to them by Mr. Cabot and Mr. Strong, Mr. Goodhue and Mr. Gerry; and such provisions appear to me, as they appeared to them, to be absolutely necessary, if we mean to fulfil the duties positively and peremptorily enjoined upon us by the constitution of the country. But since the agitation caused by Abolition societies and Abolition presses has to such extent, excited the public mind, these provisions have been rendered obnoxious and odious; unwearied endeavors have been made, and but too successfully, to rouse the passions of the people against them; and under the cry of universal freedom, and under that other cry, that there is a rule for the government of public men and private men, which is of superior obligation to the constitution of the country, several of the States have enacted laws to hinder, obstruct, and defeat the enactments of this act of Congress, to the utmost of their power. The Supreme Court of the United States has solemnly decided that it is lawful for State officers and magistrates to fulfil the duties enjoined upon them by the act of Congress of 1793, unless prohibited by State laws; and thereupon prohibitory State laws have been immediately passed, inflicting fine and imprisonment on all State officers and magistrates, who shall presume to conform to these requisitions of the act of Congress. And these prohibitory and penal laws of the States have rendered it imperative on Congress to make further and other provisions for carrying into effect the substantial intention of the act of 1793. And this is the cause of the introduction into the Senate of a bill on the subject recently by a Committee on the Judiciary. Notwithstanding all that may be said by shallow men, ignorant men, and factious men—men, whose only hope of making or of keeping themselves conspicious, is by incessant agitation and the most reckless efforts to alarm and misguide the people, I know of no persons, in or out of Congress, who wish anything more to be done on the subject of fugitives from service, than what is essentially necessary, in order to meet the requirements of the constitution, and accomplish the objects of the act of Congress of 1793. And whatever enactments I may deem essential to this purpose, I, for one, shall certainly support, as I feel bound to do by my oath of office, and by every consideration of duty an propriety.

As I have already said, the act of Congress of 1793 made no provision for any trial by jury in the State where the arrest of a fugitive is made. I have considered the subject with a conscientious desire to provide for such jury trial, if possible, in order to allay excitement and remove objections. There are many difficulties, however, attending any such provision; and a main one, and perhaps the only insuperable one, has been created by the States themselves, by making it a penal offence in their own officers to render any aid in apprehending or securing such fugitives, and absolutely refusing the use of their jails for keeping them in custody till a jury could be called together, witnesses summoned, and a regular trial be had. It is not too much to say that to these State laws is to be attributed the actual and practical denial of trial by jury in these cases. These ill-considered State laws it is which have absolutely refused the alleged fugitive, as the case now stands, any trial by jury, by refusing those aids and facilities without which a jury trial is impossible.

But, at the same time, nothing is more false than that such jury trial is demanded in cases of this kind by the constitution, either in its letter or in its spirit. The constitution declares that in all criminal prosecutions there shall be a trial by jury; the reclaiming of a fugitive slave is not a criminal prosecution.

The constitution also declares that in suits of common law the trial by jury shall be preserved; the reclaiming of a fugitive slave is not a suit at the common law: and there is no other clause or sentence in the Constitution having the least bearing on the subject.

I have seen a publication by Mr. Horace Mann, a member of Congress from Massachusetts, in which I find this sentence. Speaking of the bill before the House, he says—"This bill derides the trial by jury secured by the Constitution. A man may not lose his horse without a right to this trial, but he may his freedom. Mr. Webster speaks for the South and for Slavery, not for the North and for freedom, when he abandons this right." This personal vituperation does not annoy me, but I lament to see a public man of Massachusetts so crude and confused in his legal apprehensions, and so little acquainted with the Constitution of his country as these opinions evince Mr. Mann to be. His citation of a supposed case, as in point, if it have any analogy to the matter, would prove that, if Mr. Mann's horse stray into his neighbor's field, *he cannot lead him back without a previous trial by jury to ascertain the right.* Truly, if what Mr. Mann says of the provision of the Constitution in this publication be a test of his accuracy in the understanding of that instrument, he would do well not to seek to protect his peculiar notions under its sanction, but to appeal at once, as others do, to that high authority which sits enthroned above the Constitution and above the law.*

Gentlemen, I am extending these remaks, I fear, to quite too great a length; but there is still one characteristic of this "agitation" too remarkable to be omitted.

A member of Congress, from Illinois, of talent and rapidly increasing distinction, (Mr. Bissell) in a speech delivered in the House of Representatives, on the 21st day of February, made these very true and pertinent remarks:

> I am not so unmindful of truth as to deny that, in respect to the subject now under consideration, some of our Southern friends have good cause to complain. But it must have been remarked by all of us that the representatives from those States which have really been aggrieved in this respect are not those who have threatened us with disunion. These threats have come from the representatives of States from which, I venture to say, on an average, not one slave escapes in five years. Who ever heard of a slave escaping from Mississippi or Alabama? Where does he go to? Who helps him away? Certainly not the people of the North, Kentucky, Virginia, Maryland, and Missouri, the only States that are really sufferers by the escape of slaves, do not seem to have dreamed of dissolution as a remedy; while the representatives from a few of the extreme Southern States, whence slaves could no more escape than from the island of Cuba, see ample cause and imperious necessity for dissolving the Union and establishing a "Southern confederacy," in the alleged fact that their slaves are enticed away by the citizens of the North.

Now, the counterpart of the "agitation" presents an equally singular and striking aspect in the fact that the greatest clamor and outcry have been raised against the cruelty and enormity of the reclamation of slaves in quarters where no such reclamation has ever been made, or if ever made, the instances are so exceedingly few and far between as to have escaped general knowledge. New-England, it is well known, is the chosen seat of the Abolition presses and the Abolition societies. Here it is, principally, that the former cheer the morning by full columns of lamentations over the fate of human beings free by nature, and by law above the constitution; but sent back, nevertheless, chained and manacled to Slavery and to stripes. And the latter refresh themselves from daily toil by orgies of the night devoted to the same outpourings of philanthropy; mingling all the while their anathemas at what they call "man catching," with the most horrid and profane objurgations of the Christian Sabbath, and, indeed, of the whole Divine Revelation. They sanctify their philanthropy by irreligion and profanity; they manifest their charity by contempt of God and [illegible] It is well to inquire what foundation there is for all this rhapsody of opinion, and all this violence in conduct. What and how many are the instances of the seizure of fugitive slaves which these persons have seen, or which have happened in New England in their time? And what have been the circumstances of injustice, cruelty, and atrocity attending them? To ascertain the truth in this respect I have made diligent inquiry of members of Congress from the six New England States. On a subject so general I cannot be sure, of course, that the information received is entirely accurate, and, therefore, I do not say that the statement which I am about to present may be relied on as altogether correct, but I suppose it cannot be materially erroneous. The result, then, of all I can learn is this: No seizure of an alleged fugitive slave has ever been made in Maine. No seizure of an alleged fugitive slave has ever been made in Vermont. No seizure of an alleged fugitive slave has been made in Rhode Island within the last thirty years. No seizure of an alleged fugitive slave is known to have been made in Connecticut, except one about twenty-five years ago, and in that case the negro was immediately discharged for want of proof of identity. Some instances of the seizure of alleged fugitive slaves are known to have occurred in this generation in Massachusetts; but except one, their number and their history is uncertain; that one took place in Boston twelve or fifteen years ago; and in that case some charitably disposed persons offered the owner a sum of money which he regarded as less than half the value of the slave, but which he agreed to accept, and the negro was discharged. A few cases, I suppose, may have occurred in New-Bedford, but they attracted little notice, nor so far as I can learn, caused any complaint. Indeed, I do not know that there ever was more than a single case or two arising in that place. Be it remembered that I am speaking of reclamations of slaves made by their masters under the law of Congress. I am not speaking of instances of violent abduction and kidnapping made by persons not professing to be reclaiming their own slaves.

If this be a true account of all that has happened in New England within the last thirty years, respecting the arrest of fugitive slaves, and I believe it substantially is so, what is there to justify the passionate appeals, the vehement and empty declamations, the wild and fantastic conduct, of both men and women, which have so long disturbed and so much disgraced the Commonwealth and the country? What is there especially that should induce public men to break loose from all just restraint, fall themselves into the merest vagaries, and fan, with what they call eloquence, the fires, ever ready to kindle, of popular prejudice and popular excitement. I suspect all this to be the effect of that wandering and vagrant philanthropy which disturbs and annoys all that is present, in time or place, by heating the imagination on subjects distant, remote, and uncertain.

It is admitted, on all hands, that the necessity for any legal provision for the reclaiming of fugitive slaves is a misfortune and an evil; and it is admitted by nearly all that Slavery itself is a misfortune and an evil. And there are States in which the evil attending these reclamations is practically felt. But where the evil really exists there is comparatively little complaint, and no excitement. Maryland and Pennsylvania, for example, lie, the one on the slave side of the line, the other on the free side. Slaves escape from Maryland, flee into Pennsylvania, and are there arrested. These instances are not unfrequent, and usually create no disturbance, and excite no exasperated feeling. In one instance, indeed, a mob assembled to rescue the fugitive, violence ensued, and a life was lost. This, of course, created popular resentment, and for a considerable time agitated the neighborhood. But in general the people of Pennsylvania understand their neighbor's rights, and are willing that they should be secured and enjoyed. Massachusetts grows fervid on Pennsylvania wrongs; while Pennsylvania herself is not excited by any sense of such wrongs, and complains of no injustice. The Abolitionists of Massachusetts, both the out-and-out and the *quasi*, rend the welkin with sympathies for Pennsylvania, while Pennsylvania would quite as willingly be left to her own care of herself. Massachusetts tears fall abundantly for Pennsylvania sufferings; but which sufferings Pennsylvania herself knows little of or nothing of. No people are more opposed to Slavery than the people of Pennsylvania. We know, especially, that that great and respectable part of her population, the Friends, have borne their testimony against it from the first. Yet they create no excitement; they seek not to overthrow or undermine the constitution of their country. They know that firmness, steadiness of principle, a just moderation, and unconquerable perseverance are the virtues, the practice of which is most likely to correct whatever is wrong in the constitution of the social system. No doubt there are sometimes to be found Friends subject to the frailty of desiring to become conspicuous, or to the influence of a false sentimentality, or borne away into an atmosphere flickering between light and darkness, by the puffs of the transcendental philosophy. But that is not a malady of the great body. They remain of sound and diposing minds and memories. I am misled by authority which ought not to mislead, if it be not true, that that great body approves the sentiment to which I have given utterance on the floor of the Senate.

Between Kentucky and Ohio complaints have arisen occasionally, on the subject of fugitive slaves; but by no means to the extent which has been represented by the Abolition societies. Slaveholders in Kentucky complain of the difficulties which they encounter in reclaiming fugitives: and the people of Ohio complain, not of the execution of the act of Congress, and reclamations under it, but of the conduct of slaveholders, in coming into the State, taking and carrying back their slaves by force, and without legal process. The State of Ohio has had the discretion to prohibit her officers and magistrates from performing the duties enjoined on them by the act of Congress. Such duties they perform when occasion requires; yet as they may be prohibited by the legislature, and as the Supreme Court has decided that it is in the power of Congress to make complete provision, by law for the whole subject, and to give the power of executing such law to officers of the United States; and as the prohibitory acts of some of the States make an appropriate and suitable law of the United States indispensable, such law, if passed, would of course be general, and would comprehend Ohio with other States.

The act of 1793 gives a right of action to the owner of a fugitive slave against any person who shall harbor or conceal him. Such actions have been brought in Ohio, and I have heard an eminent judicial authority say, that he has found no more obstruction to the course of judicial proceedings in these cases than in others. Ohio juries try them with as much impartiality and calmness as they try other cases.

Gentlemen, from what I know of the subject, and [illegible] States, I fully believe, that a [illegible] a law might be passed, perfectly satisfactory to everybody, except those whose business is agitation, and whose objects are anything but the promotion of peace, harmony, patriotic good-will and the love of UNION among the people of the United States.

And now, gentlemen, does not every sober-minded and patriotic man see the necessity, and feel the duty, of rebuking that spirit of faction and disunion, that spirit of discord and crimination and recrimination, that spirit that loves angry controversy, and loves it, most especially, when evils are imaginary and dangers unreal, which has been so actively employed in doing mischief, and which, it is to be lamented, has received countenance and encouragement in quarters, whence better things were looked for?

We are now near the close of the sixth month of the session of Congress. What important measure has been adopted for the advancement of the great interests of the country?

For one, I hardly dare expect any progress in useful legislation, until a spirit shall prevail, both in Congress and the country, which shall look more to things important and real, and less to things ideal and abstract. That there are serious difficulties in our present condition, growing out of the acquisition of new territories, is certainly true These difficulties were foreseen and foretold. An honest and earnest effort was made to avoid and avert them. They are now upon us. But we CAN overcome them, and still remain a prosperous, happy, and UNITED people, if prudence and conciliation shall animate our public counsels, and a spirit of forbearance, moderation, and harmony spread over the land.

I am, gentlemen, with entire regard, your obliged fellow-citizen, and obedient servant,

DANIEL WEBSTER.

To Hon. Edward S. Rand,
Hon. W. B. Bannister,
Rev. Dr. Dana,
S. W. Marston, Esq.,
And others, signers to the letter of April 8th.

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[*] I may be permitted to add, in a note, an extract from a private letter from one of the most distinguished men in England, dated as late as the 29th of January. "Religion is an excellent thing in every matter except politics. There it seems to make men mad; and I do not know of any people more mad than the Anti-Slavery people on your side of the water and on ours. Up to the present time I have no doubt they have aggravated every evil they have endeavored to mitigate or prevent. If you tell one of them what has been the result of his officiousness, he answers, '*Liberavi animam meam.*' I may have done wrong, but I shall go to Heaven for it. So I believe that your Abolitionists have made the state of the slave, and still more that of the free black, much worse than it would have been; and probably in many States, that of Virginia, for instance, have retarded his enfranchisement. But they care little if they save their own souls. On the other hand, the Southerners seem as unreasonable; to require California to accept Slavery seems both wicked and unjust."

In these sentences my friend means, undoubtedly, to ascribe the evils which he so truly states, not to true and genuine religon, not to the religion of the Gospel, but to that fantastical notion of religion which sometimes possesses men's imaginations. The religion of the New Testament, that religion which is founded on the teachings of Jesus Christ and his Apostles, is as sure a guide to duty in politics as in any other concern of life.

LETTER
OF
HON. HORACE MANN,
TO HIS CONSTITUENTS,
ON THE SLAVERY QUESTION.

West Newton, May 3, 1850.

To the Honorable James Richardson, I. Cleaveland, and John Gardner, of Dedham; Honorable D. A. Simmons, John C. Clarke, Francis Hilliard, of Roxbury, &c.:

Gentlemen—Having been called home, on account of sickness in my family, I have just received, at this place, your kind invitation to meet and address my constituents of the 8th Congressional District, and to give them my "*views and opinions upon the question of the immediate admission of California, and other questions now before Congress arising out of the acquisition of territory by the treaty with Mexico.*"

A request from so high a source has almost the force of a command. Yet I dare not promise to comply. I am liable at any moment to be re called, and instead of speaking here, to vote there, upon the questions to which you refer, I might be summoned to return on the day appointed for us to meet. The only alternative, therefore, which is left me, is to address you by letter. This I will do, if I can find time. I shall thus comply with your request, in substance, if not in form.

On many accounts, I have the extremest reluctance, to appear before the public, on the present occasion. My views, on some vital questions, differ most materially from those of gentlemen, for whom I have felt the profoundest respect; and for some of whom, I cherish the strongest personal attachment. But I feel, on the other hand, that my constituents, having entrusted to me some of their most precious interests, are entitled to know my "views and opinions" respecting the hopes or the dangers that encompass them. I shall not, therefore, take the responsibility of declining.

I will premise further, that my relations to political parties, for many years past, have left me as free from all partizan bias "as the lot of humanity will admit." For twelve years I held an office whose duties required me to abstain from all active co-operation in political conflicts; and that duty was so religiously fulfilled that to my knowledge, I was never charged with its violation. During the Presidential contest of 1848, those obligations of neutrality still rested upon me. For a year afterwards I was not called upon to do any official act, displeasing to any party amongst us. This interval I employed in forming the best opinion I could of public men and measures, and their influence upon the moral and industrial interests of the country. I had long entertained most decided convictions in favor of protecting American labor, in favor of cheap postage, and of security to the lives and property of our fellow citizens engaged in commerce. But a new question had arisen—the great question of Freedom or Slavery in our recently acquired territories—and this question I deemed, for the time being, to be, though not exclusive of others, yet paramount to them. Or rather, I saw that nothing could be so favorable to all the last named interests, as the proper adjustment of the first. He who would provide for the welfare of mankind, must first provide for their liberty.

Sympathizing, then, on different points with different parties, but exclusively bound to none, I stood, in reference to the great question of territorial Freedom or Slavery, in the position of the *true* mother, in the litigation before Solomon, preferring that the object of my love should be spared in the hands of any one, rather than perish in my own.

Our present difficulties, which, as you well know, have arrested the gaze of the nation, and almost suspended the legislative functions of Congress, pertain to the destiny of freedom or of Slavery, to which our new territories are to be consigned. After the acquisition of Louisiana, and Florida, and Texas, for the aggrandisement and security of the slave power; after the aboriginal occupants of the soil of the Southern States have been slaughtered, or driven from their homes, at an expense of not less than a hundred millions of dollars, and at the infinite expense of our national reputation for justice and humanity; and after the area of the slave States has been made almost double that of the Free States, while the population of the free is about double that of the slave; the reasons seem so strong that they can hardly be made stronger, why the career of our Government as a Slavery extending power, should be arrested. On the other hand, the oligarchy who rule the South, seeing that, notwithstanding their rich and almost illimitable domain, they are rapidly falling behind the North in all the distinctive elements of civilization and well-being—industry, temperance, education, wealth—not only defend the Upas that blasts their soil, as though it were the Tree of Life, but seek to transplant it to other lands. With but about three slaves to a square mile.—three millions of slaves to nearly a million of square miles, —they say they are too crowded, that they feel a sense of suffocation, and must have more room, when all their weakness and pain proceed, not from the limited quantity, but from the bad quality of the atmosphere they breathe. Hence the war with Mexico; commenced and prosecuted to add slave territory and slave States to the Southern section. Hence the refusal to accept the propositions of peace, unless territory *south* of latitude 36 deg. 30 min. (the Missouri compromise line, so called) should be ceded to us. Hence when the Mexican negotiators proposed to insert a prohibition of Slavery in the treaty of cession, and declared that the Inquisition would not be more odious to the American people than the re-institution of Slavery to them, our Minister, Mr. Trist, told them he would not consent to such a prohibition, though they would cover the soil a foot deep with gold. And hence, also, the determination of a portion of the Southern members of Congress to stop the whole machinery of Government, to sacrifice all the great interests of the country, and assail even the Union itself, unless Slavery shall be permitted to cross the Rio Grande, and en-[illegible]

Even in 1846, when the war with Mexico was declared, all men of sagacity foresaw the present conflict. Could that question have been decided on its merits; or could the institutions to be planted upon the territory we might acquire, be determined by the unbiassed suffrages of the American people, no war could have been declared, and no territory acquired. But the great political leaders of the South expected to make up both for their numerical weakness and for the injustice of their cause, by connecting the question of Slavery extension with that of future Presidential elections, and with the strife of parties. They promised themselves that they could draw over leading Northern men to their support, by offering them the Tantalus cup of Presidential honors; and then, by the force of party cohesion and discipline, ensure the support of the whole descending scale of office expectants. Early in the present session of Congress, it was distinctly declared from a high Southern source, that the South must do most for those Northern men who would do most for them. A few words will make it apparent how faithfully this plan has been adhered to, and how successfully it is likely to become.

No Northern Democrat, opposed to Slavery extension, could expect the support of the Southern Democracy. Hence, General Cass stept promptly forward, and declared in his Nicholson letter, that Congress had no power to exclude Slavery from the territories. This has been technically called his "bid," or his "first bid." It was deemed satisfactory by the South; for, according to their philosophy, the relation of master and slave is the natural or normal relation of mankind; and therefore, where no prohibition of it exists, Slavery flows into free territory, as water runs down hill. This avowal of General Cass was rendered more signal and valuable to the South, because, for the greater part of his political life, he had taken oaths, held offices and administered laws, in undeniable contradiction to the declaration then made. The ordinance of 1787, was expressly recognized by the First Congress, held under the Constitution, [See ch. 8.] It was modified in part, and confirmed as to the rest; and in holding offices under this, General Cass had laid the foundation of his honors and his fortune. His declaration, therefore, against all interdiction of Slavery, made under circumstances so extraordinary, and in contradiction of the whole tenor of his past life, was hailed with acclamation by the South, and he was unanimously declared at Baltimore, to be the accepted candidate of the Democracy, for the office of President. The common notion is that a man shows his love for a cause by the amount of the sacrifice he will make for it; and as consistency, honor and truth, are the most precious elements in character, who could sacrifice more than he!

To the honor of the Whig party be it said, there was not a northern man to be found, who, to gain the support of the South, would espouse its pro-slavery doctrines, or invent any new reading of the Constitution to give them a semblance of law. Hence, at the Philadelphia Convention, no northern Whig received even so much as a complimentary vote. The judicial eminence of Judge McLean, the military eminence of General Scott, were passed contemptuously by; and Mr. Webster, acknowledged to be the greatest statesman of the age, received but fourteen votes, out of almost three hundred: and twelve of these were from Massachusetts. Mr. Webster had spoken more eloquent words for Liberty than any other living man, and this distinguished neglect was doubtless intended to teach him the lesson, that the path to Presidential honors did not lie through an advocacy of the rights of man. General Taylor was nominated and chosen. He was understood to take neutral ground. Discountenancing the veto power, yet, if the House of Representatives, who are chosen directly from and by the people, and the Senate, who are chosen by the States, will pass a territorial bill, either with or without a prohibition of Slavery, he will approve it. This is the common opinion, and I have no doubt of its correctness.

Under those circumstances, a most desparate effort was made at the close of the last Congress to provide a government for the territories, with no prohibition of Slavery. Had General Cass been elected, no such effort would have been necessary, for he was pledged to veto a prohibition. General Taylor was supposed to be pledged to an opposite course; and hence the struggle. The facts must be so fresh in the recollection of all, that they hardly need to be recounted. The House performed its duty to the country and to freedom, by sending territorial bills to the Senate, containing the prohibitory clause. The Senate, equalling the northern by its southern votes, and far outnumbering the Whigs by its Democrats left those bills to sleep the sleep of death upon its table. But during the closing hours of the session, it foisted a provision for the government of the territories, into the general appropriation bill; and held out the menace that this bill should not pass at all, unless the territorial clause should pass with it. The flagetiousness of this proceeding, it is difficult to comprehend, and impossible to describe. The appropriation bill is one on which the working, and even the continuance of the government depends. Without it, the machinery of the State must cease to move. Contracts by the government to pay money must be violated. Officers cannot obtain their salaries. Families must be left without subsistence. If long continued, all judges would resign and courts be broken up; and when justice should cease to be administered, violence, robbery, and every form of crime would run riot through the land.

Besides, an appropriation bill and a bill for the government of the territories, have no congruity with each other; they are not relevant; neither is germane to the other. Every one knows it to be a common parliamentary rule, that when a proposition is submitted which is susceptible of division, any *one* member has a right to demand it. All bills, too, for raising revenue, must, by the Constitution originate in the House; and the House has as much right to interfere to prevent the Senate from ratifying a treaty, as the Senate has to obstruct the passage of a revenue bill, by adding to it extraneous provisions. It was this effort on the part of the Senate to incorporate into the appropriation bill a provision, most unrighteous in itself, and most odious to the free sentiments of the North, which led to the protracted session on the night of the 3d of March, 1849. The course of the pro-slavery leaders, on that occasion, resembled that of a madman who should seize a torch, and stand over the magazine of a ship, and proclaim that he would send men and vessel to destruction, unless they would steer for his port. A portion of the House confederated with a majority of the Senate in this unprincipled machination; but the larger number stood undaunted, and after perils such as so precious an interest never before encountered, the pro-slave-amendment was stricken out, and its champions were foiled. Through that memorable night, the friends of freedom wrestled like Jacob with the angel of God, and though the session did not close until the sun of a Sabbath morning shone full into the windows of the Capitol, yet a holier work never was done on that holy day.

It was with a joy such as no words can ever express, that I saw the territories rescued from the clutch of Slavery by the expiration of the thirtieth Congress. I felt confident that when the thirty-first Congress should assemble, it would be under better auspices, and with a stronger phalanx on the side of freedom. In regard to California, those hopes have been realised; but I proceed to state how they have been nearly extinguished in regard to the residue of the territory.

Our first disaster was the election of a most adroit, talented, and zealous pro-slavery Speaker. A better organ for the accomplishment of their purposes the friends of Slavery could not have found, nor the friends of freedom a more formidable opponent. Whilst the pro-slavery champions of the South, almost without distinction of party, exulted over this triumph, it has been the occasion of the most lamentable criminations and recriminations at the North. They abandon all mere partisan distinctions for the cause of Slavery: would to God we [illegible] diately followed by the appointment of [illegible] pro-slavery committees. Some Free Soil members, it is true, were placed upon these committees; but in this the Speaker only carried out more fully his own purposes and those of his party, by putting what they considered as insane men into close custody, instead of letting them run at large. He showed, however, either a want of courage in himself, or of confidence in his chosen guards; for, on the District of Columbia committee he detailed a file of five, on the Judiciary committee a file of four, and on the Territorial committee a file of six strong pro-Slavery men for the safe keeping of one Free Soiler.

Within an hour after the House was organised, Mr. Root of Ohio submitted a resolution, instructing the Committee on Territories to report territorial bills, prohibiting Slavery. Many true friends to freedom believed this movement to be ill-timed and unfortunate; and though the House then refused, by a handsome vote, to lay the resolution on the table, yet when it came up for consideration again, the first decision was reversed by about the same majority. There is abundant proof that the latter vote did not express the true sentiment of the House. Not a few voted against the resolution avowedly because of its paternity—thus spiting a noble son on account of its obnoxious father. Others repented of their votes, as soon as they came to reflect that the record would go where their explanations could not accompany it.

But unfortunately, it was too late. There stands the record, to survive through all time, and to be read of all men. The champions of Slavery seized upon this vote as a propitious omen. They derided and scouted the proviso with a fierceness unknown before. They shouted their threats of disunion with a more defiant tone, should any attempt at what they called its resurrection, be made. A speech was delivered, in which the massacre of a majority of the House was distinctly shadowed forth, so that not "a quorum should be left to do business." The effect of that vote was almost as bad as though it meant what it said.

At a later day, when a bill for the admission of California was presented, the tactics of delay were resorted to, and midnight found us calling the yeas and nays, for more than the thirtieth time, on questions whose frivolousness and vexatiousness cannot be indicated by numbers.

The proceedings in the Senate, however, are those which now threaten the most disastrous consequences. Early in the session, in order to bring his Northern friends up to the doctrine that it is unconstitutional to legislate upon Slavery in the territories, Gen. Cass made a speech, in which he denies that Congress has *any* power, under *any* circumstances, to pass *any* law respecting their inhabitants. According to that speech, the United States stands in the relation of a foreign government to the people of its own territories; and if they set up a king or establish a religion, we cannot help it; for we have no more power or right to control them than we have the subjects of Great Britain or the citizens of France. It has been said that the doctrine of Gen. Cass and of Gen. Taylor on this subject, are identical; but there is this all important difference between them. Gen. Taylor maintains the right of Congress to legislate for the territories, and will doubtless approve any bill for the prohibition of Slavery in them; but Gen. Cass, denying this right in Congress, would, if President, veto such a bill. He, therefore, would leave the territories open, to be invaded and possessed by Slavery; and in Southern law and practice, possession is more than nine points.

Next came Mr. Clay's compromise resolutions, so called. By these California was to be admitted as a State; the territories organized without any restriction upon Slavery; the Southwestern boundary of Texas to be extended to the Rio Grande; a part of her twelve or fifteen million debt to be paid by the United States, on condition of her abandoning her claim to that part of New Mexico which lies east of the Rio Grande; the abolition of the slave trade in the District of Columbia, and the inviolability of Slavery in the District during the good pleasure of Maryland and of the inhabitants of the District; more effectual provision for the restitution of fugitive slaves, and free traffic in slaves forever between the States, unless forbidden by themselves.

A compromise is a settlement of difficulties by mutual concessions. Let us examine the mutuality of the concessions which Mr. Clay's resolutions propose.

In the first place, California is to be permitted to remain free, if the territories of New Mexico and Utah may be opened to Slavery. But California is free already; free by her own act; free without any concession of theirs, and without any grace but the grace of God. It is mainly occupied by a northern population, who do their own work, with their own hands, or their own brains. Fifty hardy gold diggers from the North will never stand all day knee-deep in water, shovel earth, rock washers, &c., under a broiling sun, and see a man with his fifty slaves standing under the shade of a tree, or having an umbrella held over his head, with his whip in his hand, and without wetting his dainty glove, or soiling his japanned boot, pocket as much at night as the whole of them together. Or rather, they will never suffer institutions to exist which tolerate such unrighteousness. California, therefore, is free; as free as Massachusetts; and Mr. Clay might as well have said in terms, that, whereas Massachusetts is free, therefore New Mexico and Utah shall be slave, or run the hazard of being so.

The next point of Mr. Clay's compromise is, that Texas shall extend her southwestern boundary from or near the Nueces to the Rio Grande, and shall receive, probably, some six or eight millions of dollars for withdrawing her claim to that part of New Mexico which lies east of the last named river. Now, Texas has no rightful or plausible claim to a foot of all this territory. But supposing it to be a subject of doubt, and therefore of compromise; the mutuality, then, consists in dividing the whole territory claimed by Texas, and then giving her a valid title to one portion of it, and paying her for all the rest. Texas, or—what in this connection is the same thing—Slavery, surrenders absolutely nothing, gets a good title to some hundred thousand square miles of territory, and pay for as much more.

But what renders it almost incredible that any man could soberly submit such a proposition and dare to call it a compromise, is this: All that part of New Mexico which Texas claims, and which lies between the parallels of 36 deg. 30 min. and 42 deg., is by the Resolutions of Annexation to be forever free. I shall consider the constitutionality of these resolutions by and by; I now treat them valid. Now the compromise proposes to buy this territory, so secured to freedom, and annex it to New Mexico, which is to be left open to Slavery. We are to peril all the broad region between 36 deg. and 30 min. and 42 deg., and pay Texas some six or eight millions of dollars for the privilege of doing so. Mr. Clay is not less eminent for his statesmanship than for his waggery. Were he to succeed in playing off this practical joke upon the North, and were it not for the horrible consequences which it would involve, a roar of laughter, like a *feu de joie*, would run down the course of the ages. As it is, the laughter will be "elsewhere."

The next point pertains to the abolition of the slave trade, and the perpetuity of slavery in the District of Columbia. This District has an area of about fifty square miles; and Mr. Clay proposes, in consideration of transferring its slave marts to Alexandria, on the Virginia side, or to some convenient place in Montgomery or Prince George's county, on the Maryland side, to divest Congress forever of its righs of "exclusive legislation" over it. Should this plan prevail, the perpetuity of Slavery in the District will be defended by more unassailable and impregnable barriers than any other institution in christendom. The President has a veto upon Congress; but two-thirds of both houses may still pass any law, notwithstanding his dissent. Mr. Clay proposes to give, both to Maryland and to the citizens of the District, a veto on this subject—an absolute veto, not a qualified one like that of the President of the United States; but one that will control, not majorities merely, but an absolute unanimity in both branches of Congress. By his plan, therefore, three separate, independent powers are to have a veto upon the abolition of Slavery in the District of Columbia. And not only so, but while it will require their *joint* or *concurrent* action to abolish the institution, any one of them can preserve it. The laws of the Medes and Persians had no such guaranties for perpetuity as this.

Mr. Clay's last point is really too facetious. So solemn a subject does not permit such long continued levity, however it may be masked by sobriety of countenance. It is that Congress shall make more effectual provision for the capture and delive- State traffic in slaves. We are to catch their slaves, and, as though that were a grateful privilege to us, we are to allow them free commerce in slaves coastwise or inland. By this means, slaves can be transported to the mouth of the Rio Grande, and some hundreds of miles up that river, towards New Mexico, instead of being driven in coffles across the country. The compromise is, that for every slave we catch, we are to facilitate the passage of a hundred into New Mexico.

Such is the mutuality of Mr. Clay's compromises. They are such compromises as the wolf offers to the lamb, or the vulture to the dove. They make the rightful admission of California into the Union, with her free constitution, contingent upon opening the new territories to Slavery: they ratify one part of the predatory claim of Texas, and propose to give her millions for the other part; they give an unconditional veto to the State of Maryland, and to the citizens of the District of Columbia, over a unanimous vote of both Houses of Congress, even when approved by the President; in connection with Mr. Butler's bill and Mr. Mason's amendments, they expose our white citizens to grievous penalties and imprisonments for not doing what the Supreme Court of the United States has decided we are not bound to do, in relation to fugitive slaves, and our colored citizens to being kidnapped and spirited away into bondage; and they foreclose, in favor of the South, the disputed question of the inter-State commerce in slaves. In one particular only do they appear to concede anything to Northern rights, or Northern convictions, or Northern feelings. They propose to transfer the District of Columbia slave trade across an ideal line into Virginia or into Maryland, so that the slave planter or slave trader, when he comes to our American Congo to replenish his stock of human cattle, shall be obliged to go a mile or two, to the slave marts, instead of walking down Pennsylvania Avenue. I deem this to be no concession. If it is honorable to produce corn and cotton, it is honorable to buy and sell them; and, if it is honorable to hold beings, created in God's image, in Slavery, it is honorable to stand between the producer and the consumer, and to make merchandize of the bodies and souls of men. Let this light of the age be set upon a hill, that all nations may behold it.

I will refer to Mr. Bell's resolutions no further than to say that they propose the formation of three slave States out of what is now claimed by Texas, one of which is to be admitted into the Union forthwith as an offset to California.

Mr. Buchanan has not regarded the movements of his rival, Gen. Cass, with indifference. He has spent a considerable portion of the winter in Washington, and it is understood that he holds out the Missouri Compromise line, from the Western boundary of Missouri to the Pacific Ocean, as his lure to the South for their favorable regards, in the ensuing Presidential contest.

In a chronological order, I must now consider some vitally important views, which have been submitted by some members in the House, and by Mr. Webster and others in the Senate. In mentioning the name of this great statesman, and in avowing that I am one among the many whom his recently expressed opinions have failed to convince, it is due to myself, however indifferent it may be to him or to his friends, that I should express my admiration of his powers, my gratitude for his past services, and the diffidence with which I dissented, at first, from his views. But I have pondered upon them long, and the longer I have pondered, the more questionable they appear. I shall therefore venture upon the perilous task of inquiring into their correctness; and while I do it with the deference and respect which belong to his character, I shall do it also with that fidelity to conscience and to judgment that belong to mine. He is great, but truth is greater than us all.

I shall confine myself mainly, and perhaps wholly, to Mr. Webster's views, because he has argued the cause of the South with vastly more ability than it has been argued by any one among themselves. If his conclusions, then, be not tenable, their case is lost.*

Mr. Webster casts away the "Proviso" altogether. He says "*if a resolution or a law were now before us to provide a territorial government for New Mexico, I would not vote to put any prohibition into it whatever.*" p. 44. The reason given is, that Slavery is already excluded from "California and New Mexico" "by the law of nature, of physical geography, the law of the formation of the earth;" p. 42. "California and New Mexico are Asiatic in their formation and scenery. They are composed of vast ridges of mountains of enormous height, with broken ridges and deep valleys;" p. 43.

Now this is drawing moral conclusions from physicial premises. It is arguing from physics to metaphysics. It is determining the law of the spirit by geographical phenomena. It is undertaking to settle, by mountains and rivers, and not by the Ten Commandments, the question of human duty. It abandons the second commandment of Christ, and all Bills of Rights enacted in conformity thereto, and leaves our obligations to our "neighbor" and all human rights to be determined by the accidents of earth and water and air. To ascertain whether a people will obey the divine command, and do to others as they would be done by, it looks at the thermometer. What a problem would this be! "Required the height above the level of the sea, at which the oppressor 'will undo the heavy burdens and let the oppressed go free; and break every yoke' —to be determined barometrically." Alas! this cannot be done. Slavery depends, not upon Climate, but upon Conscience. Wherever the wicked passions of the human heart can go, there Slavery can go. Slavery is an effect. Avarice, sloth, pride, and the love of domination are its cause. In ascending mountain sides, at what altitude do men leave these passions behind them? Different vegetable growths are to be found at different heights, depending also upon the zone. This I can understand. There is the altitude of the palm, the altitude of the oak, the altitude of the pine, and far above them all, the line of perpetual snow. But in regard to innocence and guilt, where is the *white line?* How high up can a slaveholder go, and not lose his free agency? At what elevation will the whip fall from the hand of the master, and the fetters from the limbs of the slave? There is no such point. Freedom and Slavery on the one hand, and climate and geology on the other, are incommensurable quantities.

We might as well attempt to determine a question in theology by the cube root, or a question in ethics by the Black Art. Slavery being a crime founded upon human passions, can go wherever those passions are unrestrained. It has existed in Asia from the earliest ages, notwithstanding "its formation and scenery." It labors and groans on the flanks of the Ural mountains now. There are to-day forty-eight millions of slaves in Russia, not one rood of which comes down so low as the Northern boundary of California and New Mexico.

Should it be said that Slavery will not go into the new territories, because it is unprofitable, I ask, where is it profitable? Where is ignorance so profitable as knowledge? Where is ungodliness gain, even for the things of this life? How little is the hand worth, at one end of an arm, if there is not a brain at the other? Do not Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, and other States, furnish witnesses by thousands and tens of thousands, that Slavery impoverishes. Yet with what enthusiasm they cherish it. Generally, ignorance is a necessary concomitant of Slavery. Of white persons, over twenty years of age, unable to read or write, there were, according to the last census, 58,787 in Virginia; 56,609 in North Carolina; 58,513 in Tennessee, and so forth. I have a letter before me received this morning, dated in Indiana, in which the writer says he removed from North Carolina in 1802, when he was 14 years old, and at that time he had never seen a newspaper in his life. Can there be genius, the inventive talent, or profitable labor, where ignorance is so dense? Can the oppression that tramples out voluntary industry, intelligence, enterprise, and the desire of independence, conduce to riches? Yet this is done wherever Slavery exists, and is part and parcel of its working. Is any other form of robbing profitable? Yet individuals and communities have practised it and lived by it, and we may as well rely upon a "law of physical geography" to arrest the one as the other. It is not poetry, but literal truth, that the breath of the slave blasts vegetation; his tears poison the earth, and his groans strike it with sterility. It would be easy to show why the master does not abandon Slavery, even amid the desolation with which it has surrounded him. There is a combination of poverty and pride, which Slavery produces *on the doctrine of natural appetence*, and which, therefore it exactly fits. The helplessness of the master in regard to all personal wants, seems to necessitate the Slavery that has begotten it. All moral and religious principles are lowered till they [illegible] can preach and pray and hold slaves, as Yorick jests and sings over grave-digging.

But Slavery cannot go into California or New Mexico, because their staple productions are not "tobacco, cane, cotton or rice." (p. 44.) These are agricultural products. But is slave labor confined to agriculture? Suppose that predial Slavery will not become common in the new territories. Cannot menial? If slaves cannot do field-work, cannot they do house work? There is an opening for a hundred thousand slaves to-day, in the new territories, for purposes of domestic labor. And beyond this, let me ask, who possessed any such geological vision that at the distance of a thousand miles he can penetrate the valleys and gorges of New Mexico, and say that gold will not yet be found there as it is in California—not in sand and in gravel only, but in forty-eight pounders and in fifty-sixes? This is the very kind of labor on which slaves, in all time, have been so extensively employed—the very labor on which a million of slaves in Hispaniola lost their lives, within a few years after its discovery by Columbus. Gold deposits are now worked within twenty-five miles of Santa Fe. The last account which I have seen of a company of emigrants passing from Santa Fe to California by the river Gila, announces rich discoveries of gold upon that river. A fellow citizen of mine has just returned home, who says he saw a slave sold at the mines in California, in September last. As yet, the distant regions of the Gila and the Colorado cannot be worked, because of the Apaches, the Utahs, and other tribes of Indians. But admit Slavery there, and the power of the government will be invoked to exterminate these Indians, as it was before to exterminate the Cherokees and Seminoles—not to drive them beyond the Mississippi, but beyond the Styx.

A few days since a letter was published in the papers dated on board a steamer descending the Mississippi, which stated that a considerable number of slaves were on board, bound for California, under an agreement with their masters that they should be free after serving two years at the mines. We know, too, that the reason assigned for incorporating a provision in the constitution of California, authorizing its Legislature to pass laws for the exclusion of free blacks from the State, was that slaves would be brought there under this very form of agreement, and, by and by, the country would be overspread by people of color who had bought their freedom. The sagacious men who framed the California constitution, came from all parts of the territory, and being collected on the spot, having surveyed all its mountains, having rebathed its air at all temperatures, and turned up its golden soil,—these men had never discovered any "law of physical geography" which the fell spirit of Slavery could not transgress. Slaves were carried into Oregon, ten degrees of latitude higher up. Its colonists re-enacted the ordinance of 1787, before Congress gave them a territorial government. In the territorial government that was given to them, the prohibition was inserted; and President Polk signed the bill with an express protest that he ratified this exclusion of Slavery only because the country lay north of the Missouri compromise line—but that had it embraced the very region in question, he would have vetoed the bill.

Gen. Cass never took the ground that Slavery could not exist in the new territories; and no inconsiderable part of the opposition made to him in Massachusetts and in other free States, was placed expressly upon the ground that he would not prohibit it. Mr. Webster in his Marshfield speech, Sept. 1, 1848, opposed the election of Gen. Cass, because, through his recreancy to Northern principle, Slavery would invade the territories. This was expressed with his usual clearness and force, as follows:

"He [Gen. Cass] will surely have the Senate; and with the patronage of the government, with every interest that he, as a Northern man, can bring to bear, cooperating with every interest that the South can bring to bear, we cry safety before we are out of the woods, *if we feel that there is no danger as to these new territories.*"

Yet Mr. Webster now says that to support the "Proviso," would "do disgrace to his own understanding." p. 46.

During the same campaign, also, the Honorable Rufus Choate, one of the most eloquent men in New England, and known to be the personal friend of Mr. Webster, delivered a speech at Salem, in which the following passage occurs:

"It is the passage of a law to say that California and New Mexico shall remain forever free. That is, fellow citizens, undoubtedly, an object of great and transcendent importance; for there is none who will deny that we should go up to the very limits of the Constitution itself, and with the wisdom of the wisest and zeal of the most zealous, should unite to accomplish this great object, and to defeat the always detested and forever to be detested object of the dark ambition of that candidate of the Baltimore Convention, who has ventured to pledge himself in advance that he will veto the future law of freedom; and may God avert the madness of all those who hate Slavery and love freedom, that would unite in putting him in the place where this thrice accursed pledge may be redeemed! . . . . Is there a Whig upon this floor who doubts that the strength of the Whig party next March will insure freedom to California and New Mexico, if by the Constitution they are entitled to freedom at all? Is there a member of Congress that would not vote for freedom? You know there is not one. Did not every Whig member of Congress from the free States vote at the last session for freedom? You know that every man of them returned home covered with the thanks of his constituents for that vote. Is there a single Whig constituency, in any free State in this country, that would return any man that would not vote for freedom? *Do you believe that Daniel Webster himself could be returned, if there was the least doubt upon the question?*"

Mr. Choate then adds:—"Upon this question alone we always differ from these Whigs of the South: and on that one, we *propose simply to vote them down.*" Mr. Webster now says he will not join in voting them down.

Under such circumstances, is it frivolous or captious to ask for something more than a dogmatic assertion, that Slavery cannot impregnate these new regions, and cause them to breed monsters forever. On a subject of such infinite importance, I cannot be satisfied with a dictum; I want a demonstration. I cannot accept the prophecy without inquiring what spirit inspired the prophet. As a revelation from heaven, it would be most delightful; but as it conflicts with all human experience, it requires at least one undoubted miracle to attest the divinity of its origin. According to the last census, there were more than eight thousand persons of African blood in Massachusetts. Abolish the moral and religious convictions of our people, let Slavery appear to be in their sight, not only lawful and creditable but desirable as a badge of aristocratic distinction, and as a "political, social, moral and religious blessing;" and what obstacle would prevent these eight thousand persons from being turned into slaves, on any day, by the easy, cheap, and short-hand kidnapping of a legislative art. Africans can exist here, for the best of all reasons—they do exist here. A state of Slavery would not stop their respiration, nor cause them to vanish "into thin air." Think, for a moment, of the complaints we constantly hear, in certain circles of the difficulty and vexatiousness of commanding domestic service. If no moral or religious objection existed against holding slaves, would not many of those respectable and opulent gentlemen who signed the letter of thanks to Mr. Webster, and hundreds of others, indeed, instead of applying to Intelligence Offices, or visiting emigrant ships for domestics, as we call them, go at once to the auction-room and buy a man or a woman, with as little hesitancy or compunction, as they now send to Brighton for beeves, or go to Tattersall's for a horse? If the cold of the higher latitude checks the flow of African blood, or benumbs African limbs, the slaveholder knows very well that a trifling extra expense for whips will make up for the difference.

But suppose a doubt could be reasonably entertained about the invasion of the new territories by Slavery.—Even suppose the chances to preponderate against it.—What then? Are we to submit a question of human liberty, over vast regions and for an indefinite extent of time, to the determination of chance? With all my faculties, I say *No!* Let me ask any man, let me respectfully ask Mr. Webster himself, if it were his own father and mother, and brothers and sisters, and sons and daughters, who were in peril of such a fate, whether he would abandon them to chance.—even to a favorable chance? Would he suffer their fate to be determined by dice or divination, when positive prohibition was in his power? And by what rule of Christian morality, or even of enlightened heathen morality, can we deal differently with the kindred of others from what we would with our own? He is not a Christian whose humanity is bounded by the legal degrees of blood, or by generic types of feature.

But Mr. Webster would not "taunt" the South; neither would I. I would not taunt any honorable man, much less a criminal. Still, when the most precious interests of humanity are in peril, I would not be timid. I would not stop too long to cull lovers' phrases. Standing under the eye of God, in the forum of the world, and before the august tribunal of posterity, when the litigants are Freedom and Tyranny, and human happiness and human misery the prize they contest, it should happen to the sworn advocate of Liberty, as Quintilian says it did of Isocrates, "not to speak and to plead, but to thunder and to lighten." Mr. Webster would not taunt the South, and yet I say the South was never so insulted before as he has insulted them. Common scoffs, jeers, villifications, are flattery, sycophancy, compared with the indignities he heaped upon them. Look at the facts. The South waged war with Mexico from one, and only one motive—for one and only one object: the extension of Slavery. They refused peace until it surrendred territory. That territory must be south of the abhorred tier, from 49 deg. to 54 deg. 40 min., to which we had, in his own words, "an unquestionable title," would allow no prohibition of Slavery to be imposed upon the territory which Mexico ceded, though she would bury it a foot deep in gold. The Proviso had been resisted, in all forms, from the beginning. Southern Whigs voted against the ratification of the treaty, foreseeing the struggle that was to follow. Desperate efforts were made to smuggle in an unrestricted territorial government, against all Parliamentary rule, and all constitutional implication. The whole South, as one man, claimed it as a "describable, weighable, estimable, tangible," and most valuable "right" to carry slaves there. Calhoun, Berrien, Badger, Mason, Davis—the whole Southern phalanx, Whig and Democrat—pleaded for it, argued for it, and most of them declared themselves ready to fight for it; and yet Mr. Webster rises in his place, and tells them they are all moon-struck, hallucinated, fatuous; because "an ordinance of Nature, and the will of God," had settled this question from the beginning of the world. Mr. Calhoun said, immediately after this speech, Give us free scope and time enough, and we will take care of the rest.

Mr. Mason said:—"We have heard here from various quarters, and from high quarters, and repeated on all hands—repeated here again to-day by the honorable Senator from Illinois, (Mr. Shields) that there is a law of nature which excludes the Southern people from every portion of the State of California. I know of no such law of nature—none whatever; but I do not know the contrary, that if California had been organized with a territorial form of government, only, and for which, at the last two sessions of Congress, she has obtained the entire Southern vote, the people of the Southern States would have gone there freely, and have taken their slaves there in great numbers. They wouldhave done so because the value of the labor of that class would have been augmented to them many hundred fold. Why, in the debates which took place in the Convention in California which formed the constitution, and which any Senator can now read for himself, after the provision excluding Slavery was agreed upon, it was proposed to prohibit the African race altogether, free as well as bond. A debate arose upon it; and the ground was distinctly taken, as shown in those debates, that if the entire African race was not excluded, their labor would be found so valuable that the owners of slaves would bring them there, even though Slavery were prohibited under a contract to manumit them in two or three years. And it required very little reasoning, on the part of those opposed to this class of population, to show that the productiveness of their labor would be such as to cause that result. An estimate was gone into with reference to the value of the labor of this class of people showing that it would be increased to such an extent in the mines of California, that they could not be kept out. It was agreed that the labor of a slave in any one of the States from which they would be taken, was not worth more than one hundred to one hundred and fifty dollars a year, and that in California it would be worth from four to six thousand dollars. They would work themselves free in one or two years, and thus the country would be filled by a class of free blacks, and their former owners have anexcellent bargain in taking them there."

Yet, Mr. Webster stands up before all this array, and says, "Gentlemen, you are beside yourselves.—You have eaten hellebore. You would look more in character, should you put on the 'cap and bells.' In sober sense, in seeing his object clearly, and in pursuing it directly, Don Quixotte was Dr. Franklin compared with *you*. The dog in the fable who dropped his meat to snap at its shadow, is an allegory in this case. I see two classes around me—wise men and fools; *you* do not belong to the former. The Chancellor who keeps the kings' idiots should have custody of you."

Such is a faithful abstract of what Mr. Webster said to Southern Senators, and through them to all the South

Here certainly was a reflection upon the understanding and intelligence of the South, such as never was cast upon them before. But the balm went with the sting. They bore the affront to their judgments, because it was so grateful to their politics and pockets. I think it no injustice to those Senators to say, that they would have nearly torn him in pieces for such a collective insult, if it had not added fifty per cent. to their individual property, and secured and perpetuated their political ascendancy.

To help our conceptions in regard to Mr. Webster's course, on this subject, let us imagine a parallel case, or rather, an approximate one; for there can be no parallel. Suppose the contest between the North and the South, on the subject of the Tariff, to have been raging for years. The sober blood of the North is heated to the fever point. The newspapers treat of nothing else. Public meetings and private conversation discuss no theme. Hundreds of delegates wait upon Congress, to add, if it be but a feather's weight, to the scale which holds their interests. Petitions flow in, in thousands and tens of thousands. It is announced that Mr. Calhoun will pour out his great mind on the subject. Expectation is on the tiptoe. All eyes, from all sides of the country, are turned towards Washington, as the Muezzin's to Mecca. The Senate chamber is packed, and the illustrious Senator rises. After an historical sketch of existing difficulties; after reading from the speeches which he made in 1832, and in 1846, he proceeds to say that he withdraws all opposition to a tariff—to any tariff! He will not offend the nerves of Northern manufacturers, by further hostility. Were a bill then before him, he would not oppose it. "Take the schedule," says he, scornfully, to Northern Senators, "and fill up the blanks from A to Z, with what per centage you please. For *ad valorem* rates, put in minimums and maximums, at your pleasure—I will 'taunt' you no longer. I am for peace and the glorious Union. I have discovered an irrepealable and irreversible law of nature, which overrules all the devices of men. You cannot make one yard of woolens or cottons in New England. There, water has no gravity, steam has no force, and wheels will not revolve. In Vermont and New York, wool will not grow on sheep's backs. I have penetrated the geology of Pennsylvania, and through all its stratifications there is not a thimble full of coal, nor an ounce of iron ore; and, if there were, combustion would not help to forge it, for oxygen and carbon are divorced. As Massachusetts contributed one-third of the men and one-third of the money to carry on the Revolutionary War, I am willing to compensate her lost blood and treasure, to the amount of hundreds of millions of dollars, with which she may fertilize the barrenness of her genius, and indulge her insane love for churches and schools" Had the great Southern Senator spoken thus, I think that even idolatrous, man-worshipping South Carolina,—a State which Mr. Calhoun has ruled and moved, for the last twenty-five years, as a puppet-showman plays Punch and Judy,—would have sent forth through all her organs, a voice of unanimous dissent.

As much as Freedom is higher than Tariff, so much stronger than their dissent should be ours.

Mr. Webster's averment that he would not "re-affirm an ordinance of Nature, nor re-enact the will of God," (p. 44,) has been commented on more pungently than I am able or willing to do. It has been said that all law and all volition must be in harmony with the will of the Good Spirit or with that of the Evil One; and, if we will not re-enact the will of the former, then, either all legislation ceases, or we must register the decrees of the latter. But one important and pertinent consideration belongs to this subject, which I have no where seen developed. It is this: Endless doubts and contradictions exist among men, as to what is the will of God; and on no subject is there a wider diversity of opinion than on this very subject of Slavery. Whose law was re-enacted by the ordinance of 1787? Whose, when the African Slave-Trade was prohibited? Whose, when it was declared piracy? True, it is useless to put upon our statute-books an astronomical law, regulating sun-rise, or high tides; but that is physical and beyond the jurisdiction of man, while Slavery belongs to morals, and is within the jurisdiction of man. Cease to transcribe upon our statute-book what our wisest and best men believe to be the will of God in regard to our worldly affairs, and the passions which we think appropriate to devils will soon take possession of society. In regard to Slavery, piracy, and so forth, there are multitudes of men, whose fear of the penal executions of another life is very much aided by a little salutary fine and imprisonment in this. Look at that noble array of principles which is contained in the Declaration of rights in the Constitution of Massachusetts. Is it not a most grand and beautiful exposition of "the will of God,"—a transcript as it were from the Book of Life? So of the amendments to the Constitution of the United States. Yet our fathers thought it no tampering with holy things to enact them; and in times of struggle and peril, they have been to many a tempted man, as an anchor to the soul, sure and steadfast.

I approach Mr. Webster's treatment of the Texas subject with no ordinary anxiety. Having been accustomed from my very boyhood to regard him as the almost infallible expounder of constitutional law, it is impossible to describe the struggle, the revulsion of mind with which I have passed from an instructed and joyous acquiescence in his former opinions, to unhesitating dissent from his present ones.

I must premise that I cannot see any necessary or beneficial connection between the subject of new Texas States and the admission of California, and the government of the territories. The former refers to some indefinite future, when, from its fruitful womb of Slavery, Texas shall cast forth its untimely birth. In this excited state of the country, at this critical juncture of affairs, when there is sober talk of massacreing a majority of the House of Representatives, on their own floor, and a Senator, instead of threatening to hang a brother Senator on the highest tree, provided he could catch him in his own State, no draws a revolver of six barrels on another brother-Senator on the floor of the Senate, in mid-session; at such a time, I say, when however few Abels there may be at work in the political field, there are Cains more than enough, would it not have been well to have said, "Sufficient unto the day is the evil thereof:"

As the basis of this argument Mr. Webster quotes the following resolution:

"New States, of a convenient size, not exceeding four in number, in addition to said State of Texas, and having sufficient population, may hereafter, by consent of said State, be formed out of the territory thereof, which shall be entitled to admission under the provisions of the federal constitution. And such States as may be formed out of that portion of said territory lying south of 36 deg. 30 min. north latitude, commonly known as the Missouri compromise line, shall be admitted into the Union, with or without Slavery, as the people of each State asking admission may desire; in such State or States as shall be formed out of said territory north of said Missouri compromise line, Slavery or involuntary servitude (except for crime) shall be prohibited."

Note here, first, that only "*four*" States are to be admitted "in addition to said State of Texas;" and, second, that "such State or *States*," (in the plural) as shall be formed from territory north of 36 deg. 30 min. *shall be free*. If *two* or only *one* free State is to exist on the north side of the line, then how many will be left for the south side? I should expose myself to ridicule, were I to set down arithmetically, four, minus one equal to three. Yet Mr. Webster says "the guaranty is, that new States shall be made out of it, [the Texian Territory,] and that such States as are formed out of that portion of Texas, lying south of 36 deg. 30 min., may come in as slave States, to the number of FOUR, in addition to the State then in existence, and admitted at that time by these resolutions," p. 29.

Here Mr. Webster gives outright to the South and to Slavery, one more State than was contracted for,—assuming the contract to be valid. He makes a donation, a gratuity, of an entire slave State, larger than many European principality. He transfers a whole State, with all its beating hearts, present and future, with all its infinite susceptibilities of weal or wo, from the side of Freedom to that of Slavery, in the ledger book of Humanity. What a bridal gift for the harlot of bondage!

Was not the bargain hard enough according to its terms? Must we fulfil it, and go beyond it? Is a slave State, which dooms our brethren of the human race, perhaps interminably, to the vassal's fate, so insignificant a trifle that it may be flung in, as small change on the settlement of an account? Has the South been so generous a copartner as to deserve this distinguished token of our gratitude?

Why, by a parity of reasoning, could he not have claimed all the four States, "in addition to said State of Texas," as free States? The resolutions divide the territory into two parts, one north and one south of the line of 36 deg. 30 min. Could not Mr. Webster have claimed the four States for Freedom with as sound logic, and far better humanity, than he surrendered them to Slavery? When Texas and the South have got their slave States "to the number of four" into the Union, where are we to obtain one or more free States? The contract will have been executed; and the consent of Texas for another State will be withheld.

Notwithstanding all this, Mr. Webster affirms the right of Slavery to four more States, in the following words: "I know no form of legislation which can strengthen this. I know no mode of recognition that can add a tittle of weight to it." Catching the tone of his asseveration, I respond that I know of no form of statement, nor process of reasoning which can make it more clear that this is an absolute and wanton surrender of the rights of the North, and the rights of humanity.

But I hold the Texan Resolutions to have been utterly void; and proceed to give the reasons for my opinions.

I begin by quoting Mr. Webster against himself. In an Address to the people of the United States from the Massachusetts Anti-Texas State Convention, January 29th, 1845, the subjoined passage, which is understood, or rather I may say, is now well known to have been dictatated by Mr. Webster himself may be found:

"But we desire not to be misunderstood. According to our convictions, there is no power in any branch of the government, or all its branches, to annex foreign territory to this Union. We have made the foregoing remarks only to show, that, if any fair construction could show such a power to exist anywhere, or to be exercised in any form, yet the manner of its exercise now proposed *is destitute of all decent semblance of constitutional propriety.*"

Thus cancelling the authority of Mr. Webster in 1850 by the authority of Mr. Webster in 1845, I proceed with the argument.

Though the annexation of Texas was in pursuance of a void stipulation, yet it is a clear principle of law that when a contract void between the parties has been *executed* by them, it cannot then be annulled. If executed, it becomes valid, not by virtue of the contract, but by virtue of the execution. I bow to this legal principle, and would fulfil it. But any independent stipulation which remains unexecuted, remains invalid. Such is that part of the annexation resolutions which provides for the admission of a brood of Texan States. The resolutions themselves say in express terms, that the new States are to be admitted "under the provisions of the Federal Constitution;" and the Constitution says, "New States may be admitted *by the Congress* into this Union." By what Congress? Plainly by the Congress in session, at the time when application for admission is made; and by no other. The fourth Texan State may not be ready for admission for fifty years to come; and could the Congress of 1845 bind the Congress of 1900? The Congress of 1900, and all future Congresses, will derive their authority from the Constitution of the United States, and not from any preceding Congress. Put the case in a negative form. Could the Congress of 1845 bind all future Congresses *not to admit* new States, and the *pro tanto*, annul the Constitution? Positive or negative, the result is the same. No previous Congress, on such a subject, can enlarge or limit the power of a subsequent one. Whenever, therefore, the question of a new Texan State comes up for consideration, the Congress *then in being* must decide it on its own merits, untrammelled by anything their predecessors have done; and especially free from a law, which, while similar in spirit, is a thousand times more odious in principle than statutes of mortmain.

Admitting that a future Congress, on such a subject might be bound by a *treaty*, I answer that here was no treaty; while the fact that a treaty clause was introduced into the resolutions, in the Senate, for the sake of obtaining certain votes that would never otherwise have been given in their favor, and under an express pledge from the Executive that the method by treaty should be adopted, which pledge was forthwith iniquitously broken, leaves no element of baseness and fraud by which this proceeding was not contaminated. In the name of the constitution, then, and of justice, let every honest man denounce those resolutions as void, alike in the forum of law and in the forum of conscience; and, admitting Texas herself to be in the Union, yet, when application is made for any new State from that territory, let the question be decided upon the merits it may then possess.

There is another objection to any future claim of Texas to be divided into States, which grows out of her own neglect to fulfil the terms and spirit of the agreement. In the "territory north of the Missouri Compromise line, Slavery or involuntary servitude (except for crime) shall be prohibited." So reads the bond. But if Texas suffers Slavery to be extended over that part of her territory, then, when it becomes populous enough for admission, and is overspread with Slavery, a new State may present a free Constitution, be admitted by Congress, and, before the slaves have time to escape, or to carry the question of freedom before the judicial tribunals, *Presto!* this free constitution will be changed into a slave constitution, under the alleged right of a State to decide upon its own domestic institutions, and thus the word of promise which was kept to the ear, will be broken to the hope. If Texas meant to abide by the resolutions of annexation, and to claim any thing under them, it was her clear and imperative duty forthwith to pass a law, securing freedom to every inhabitant north of the Compromise line. In this way only can the resolutions be executed in their true spirit. That territory is now in the condition of an egg: it is undergoing incubation. From it a State is hereafter to be hatched; but before promising to accept the chick, it would be agreeable to know whether a viper had impregnated the egg.

But there is a still further objection, of whose soundness I have no doubt; but should I be in error in regard to it, the mistake will not invalidate any other argument. The parties to that agreement stipulated on the ground of mutuality, without which all contracts are void. Some States were to be admitted to strengthen the hands of Slavery, and some, of freedom. A line of demarcation was drawn. Now, on investigation, I believe, it will most conclusively appear, that there is not an inch of Texan territory north of the stipulated line: it all belongs to New Mexico, as much as Nantucket or Berkshire belongs to Massachusetts. It was a mistake on the part of the contracting parties; if, on the part of Texas, it was not something worse than a mistake. The mutuality, then, fails. The contract is *nudum pactum*. Texas can give nothing for what she was to receive; and is, therefore, entitled to receive nothing but what she has got.

In regard to "the business of seeing that fugitives are delivered up," Mr. Webster says: "My friend at the head of the Judiciary Committee [Mr. Butler of South Carolina] has a bill on the subject now before the Senate, with some amendments to it, which I propose to support, with all its provisions to the fullest extent."

Here is Mr. Butler's bill, with Mr. Mason's amendment:

"A BILL to provide for the more effectual execution of the third clause of the second section of the fourth article of the Constitution of the United States.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That when a person held to service or labor in any State or Territory of the United States, under the laws of such State or Territory, shall escape into any other of the said States or Territories, the person to whom such service or labor may be due, his or her agent, or attorney, is hereby empowered to seize or arrest such fugitive from service or labor, and take him or her before any judge of the circuit or district courts of the United States, or before any commissioner or clerk of the United States, or collector of the customs of the United States, residing or being within such State wherein such seizure or arrest shall be made, and upon proof to the satisfaction of said judge, commissioner, clerk, marshal, postmaster, or collector, as the case may be, either by oral testimony, or affidavit taken before and certified by any person authorized to administer an oath under the laws of the United States, or of any State, that the person so seized or arrested, under the laws of the State or territory from which he or she fled, owe service or labor to the person claiming him or her, it shall be the duty of such judge, commissioner, clerk, marshal, postmaster, or collector, to give a certificate thereof to such claimant, his or her agent, or attorney, which certificate shall be a sufficient warrant for taking and removing such fugitive from service or labor, to the State or Territory from which he or she fled.

Sec. 2. *And be it further enacted*, That when a person held to service or labor, as mentioned in the first section of this act, shall escape from such service or labor, as therein mentioned, the person to whom such service or labor may be due, his, or her agent or attorney, may apply to any one of the officers of the United States, named in said section, other than a marshal of the United States, for a warrant to seize and arrest such fugitive, and upon affidavit being made before such officer, (each of whom for the purposes of this act is hereby authorized to administer an oath or affirmation,) by such claimant, his or her agent, that such person does under the laws of the State or Territory from which he or she fled, owe service or labor to such claimant, it shall be, and is hereby, made the duty of such officer, to and before whom such application and affidavit is made, to issue his warrant to any marshal of any of the courts of the United States to seize and arrest such alleged fugitive, and to bring him or her forthwith, or on a day to be named in such warrant, before the officer issuing such warrant, or either of the other officers mentioned in said first section, except the marshal to whom the said warrant is directed, which said warrant or authority, the said marshal is hereby authorized and directed in all things to obey.

Sec. 3. *And be it further enacted*, That upon affidavit made as aforesaid by the claimant of such fugitive, his agent or attorney, after such certificate has been issued, that he has reason to apprehend that such fugitive will be rescued by force from his or their possession, before he can be taken beyond the limits of the State in which the arrest is made, it shall be the duty of the officer making the arrest to retain such fugitive in his custody, and to remove him to the State whence he fled, and there to deliver him to said claimant, his agent or attornay. And to this end, the officer aforesaid is hereby authorized and required to employ so many persons as he may deem necessary to overcome such force, and to retain them in his servire so long as circumstances may require. The said officer and his assistants, while so employed, to receive the same compensation, and to be allowed the same expenses as are now allowed by law for transportation of criminals, to be certified by the judge of the district within which the arrest is made, and paid out of the treasury of the United States: *Provided*, That before such charges are incurred, the claimant, his agent, or attorney, shall secure to said officer payment of the same, and in case no actual force be opposed, then they shall be paid by such claimant, his agent, or attorney.

Sec. 4. *And be it further enacted*, When a warrant shall have been issued by any of the officers under the second section of this act, and there shall be no marshal or deputy marshal within ten miles of the place where such warrant is issued, it shall be the duty of the officer issuing the same, at the request of the claimant, his agent, or attorney, to appoint some fit and discreet person, who shall be willing to act as marshal, for the purpose of executing said warrant; and such person so appointed shall to the extent of executing such warrant, and detaining and transporting the fugitive named therein, have all the power and authority, and be, with his assistants, entitled to the same compensation and expenses provided in this act, in cases where the services are performed by the marshals of the courts.

Sec. 5. *And be it further enacted*, That any person who shall knowingly and willingly obstruct or hinder such claimant, his agent or attorney, or any person or persons assisting him, her, or them, in so serving or arresting such fugitive from service or labor, or shall rescue such fugitive from such claimant, his agent or attorney, when so arrested, pursuant to the authority herein given or declared, or shall aid, abet, or assist such person so owing service or labor to escape from such claimant, his agent or attorney, or shall harbor or conceal such person, after notice that he or she was a fugitive from labor, as aforesaid, shall, for either of the said offences, forfeit and pay the sum of one thousand dollars, which penalty may be recovered by and for the benefit of such claimant, by action of debt in any court proper to try the same, saying, moreover, to the person claiming such labor or service, his right of action for, on account of, the said injuries, or either of them.

Sec. 6. *And be it further enacted*, That when said person is seized or arrested under, and by virtue of the said warrant, by such marshal, and is brought before either of the officers aforesaid, other than said marshal, it shall be the duty of such officer to proceed in the case of such person, in the same way as he is directed and authorized to do when such person is seized and arrested by the person claiming him, or by his or her agent, or attorney, and is brought before such officer under the provisions of the first section of this act.

AMENDMENTS intended to be proposed by Mr. Mason to the bill (S. 23) to provide for the more effectual execution of the third clause of the second section of the fourth article of the Constitution of the United States:—

At the end of section 5, add:

And any person or persons offending against the provisions of this section to be moreover deemed guilty of a misdemeanor in obstructing the due execution of the laws of the United States, and upon conviction thereof shall be fined in the sum of one thousand dollars, one half whereof shall be to the use of the informer; and shall also be imprisoned for the term of twelvemonths.

At the end of section 6, add:

And in no trial or hearing under this act shall the testimony of such fugitive be admitted in evidence."

It will be observed that the first section of the bill, after constituting the judges of the courts, the seventeen thousand postmasters, the collectors, and so forth as tribunals, *without appeal*, for the delivery of any body, who is sworn by anybody, anywhere, to be a fugitive slave, refers to the before mentioned officers in the words "residing or being within such State where such seizure or arrest is made." That is, the judge, postmaster, collector, &c., need not be an inhabitant of the State, or hold his office in the State, where the seizure is made; but it is sufficient if he is such officer anywhere within the United States. Mr. Butler or Mr. Mason, therefore, may send the postmaster of his own city or village, into Massachusetts, with an agent or attorney, who brings his affidavit from South Carolina or Virginia, in his pocket; the agent or attorney may arrest anybody, at any time, carry him before his accomplice, go through with the judicial forms, and hurry him to the South;—the officer, after his judicial functions are discharged, turning bailiff, protecting the prey and speeding the flight!

Still further: this bill derides the trial by jury, secured by the Constitution. A man may not lose a horse without a right to this trial; but he may his freedom. Mr. Webster speaks for the South and for Slavery; not for the North and for freedom, when he abandons this right. Such an abandonment, it would be impossible to believe of one who has earned such fame as defender of the Constitution;—it would be more reasonable to suppose the existence of some strange misapprehension, had not Mr. Webster, with that precision and strength which are so peculiarly his own, declared his determination to support this hideous bill, "with all its provisions, to the fullest extent;" when, at the same moment, another bill of which he took no notice, was pending before the Senate, introduced by Mr. Seward of New York, securing the invaluable privilege of a jury trial.

I disdain to avail myself, in a sober argument, of the popular sensitiveness on this subject; and I acknowledge my obligation to the Constitution while it is suffered to last. But still I say, that the man who can read this bill without having his blood boil in his veins, has a power of refrigeration that would cool the tropics.

I cannot doubt that Mr. Webster will yet see the necessity of reconsidering his position, on this whole question.

Mr. Webster says: "It is my firm opinion, this day, that within the last twenty years as much money has been collected and paid to the abolition societies, abolition presses, and abolition lecturers, as would purchase the freedom of every slave man, woman and child, in the State of Maryland, and send them all to Liberia."

The total number of slaves in Maryland, according to the last census, amounted to 89,495. At $250 apiece, which is but about half the value commonly assigned to Southern slaves by Southern men this would be $22,373,750. Allowing $30 each for transportation to Liberia, without any provision for them after their arrival there, and the whole sum would be $25,058,600;—in round numbers, twenty-five millions of dollars!—more than a million and a quarter in each year, and about thirty-five hundred dollars per day. I had not supposed the Abolitionists had such resources at their command.

I have dwelt thus long upon Mr. Webster's speech, because in connection with his two votes in favor of Mr. Foote's committee of compromise, which votes, had they been the other way, would have utterly defeated the committee, it is considered to have done more to jeopard the great cause of freedom in the territories, than any other event of this disastrous session. I have spoken of Mr. Webster by name, and I trust, in none but respectful terms. I might have introduced other names, or examined his positions, without mentioning him. I have taken what seemed to me the more manly course; and if these views should ever by chance fall under his eye, I believe he has magnanimity enough to respect me more for the frankness I have used. If I am wrong, I will not add to an error of judgment, the meanness of a clandestine attack. If I am right no one can complain; for we must all cow before the majesty of Truth.

I have now noticed the principal causes which have taken place in Congress, and which have led to what military men would call the "demoralization" of many of the rank and file of its members. Some recent events have brought vividly to mind certain historical recollections in regard to the African slave trade, now execrated by all civilized nations. When the immortal Wilberforce exposed to public gaze the secrets of that horrid traffic, his biographer says, "The first burst of generous indignation promised nothing less than the instant abolition of the trade, but *mercantile* jealousy had taken the alarm, and the defenders of the West India system found themselves strengthened by the independent alliance of *commercial* men." Life of Wilberforce, vol. 1, p. 291.

Again; opposition to Wilberforce's motion "arose amongst the Guinea *merchants*"—"reinforced, however, before long by the great body of West India planters." Ibid.

The Corporation of Liverpool spent first and last, upwards of £10,000 in defence of a traffic which even the gravity and calmness of judicial decisions has since pronounced "infernal!"

"Besides printing works in defence of the slave trade, and remunerating their authors; paying the expenses of delegates to attend in London and watch Mr. Wilberforce's proceedings, they pensioned the widows of Norris and Gree, and voted plate to Mr. Penny for their exertions in this cause." Ib. p. 345.

It is said that the Corporation of Liverpool, at this time, "believed firmly that the very existence of the city depended upon the continuance of the traffic." Look at Liverpool now, and reflect what greater rewards, even of a temporal nature, God reserves for men that abjure dishonesty and crime.

All collateral motives were brought to bear upon the subject, just as they are at the present time. The Guinea trade was defended "as a nursery for seamen." Ib., p. 298.

Even as late as 1516, the same class of men, in the same country, opposed the abolition of "white Slavery" in Algiers, from the same base motives of interest. It was thought that the danger of navigating the Mediterranean, caused by the Barbary Corsairs, was advantageous to British commerce; because it might deter the merchant ships of other nations from visiting it. After Lord Exmouth had compelled the Algerines to liberate their European slaves, he proceeded against Tunis and Tripoli. In giving an account of what he had done, he defends his conduct "upon general principles," but adds, "as applying to our own country, [Great Britain] it may not be borne out, *the old mercantile interest being against it.*"—Osler's Life of Exmouth, p. 303.

So after Admiral Blake, in the time of Cromwell, had attacked Tunis, he says in his despatch to Secretary Thurloe, "And now, seeing it hath pleased God so signally to justify us herein, I hope his highness will not be offended at it, nor any who regard duly the honor of the nation, *although I expect to have the clamors of* INTERESTED MEN." Thurloe's State Papers, vol. II. p. 390. And is commerce, the daughter of Freedom, thus forever to lift her parricidal hand against the parent that bore her? Are rich men forever to use their "thirty pieces of silver," or their "ten thousand pounds sterling," or their hundreds of thousands of dollars, to reward the Judases for betraying their Savior! Viewed by the light of our increased knowledge, and by our more elevated standard of duty, the extension of Slavery into California or New Mexico, at the present time, or even the sufferance of it there, is a vastly greater crime than was the African slave trade itself, in the last century; and I would rather meet the doom of posterity or of heaven, for being engaged in the traffic then, than for being accessory to its propagation now.

Let those who aid, abet, or connive at Slavery extension now, as they read the damning sentence which history has awarded against the actors, abetters and connivers of the African trade, *but change the names*, and they will be reading of themselves. Should our new territories be hereafter filled with groaning bondmen, should they become an American Egypt, tyrannized over by ten thousand Pharohs, it will be no defence for those who permitted it, to say, "We hoped, we supposed, we trusted, that Slavery could not go there;" Nemesis, as she plies her scorpion lash, will reply, "*You might have made it certain.*"

On this question of Freedom or Slavery, I have observed with grief, nay, with anguish, that we, at the North, break up into hostile parties, hurl criminations and recriminations to and fro, and expend that strength for the ruin of each other, which should be directed against the enemies of Liberty; while, at the South, whenever Slavery is in jeopardy, all party lines are obliterated, dissensions are healed, enemies become friends, and all are found in a solid column, with an unbroken front. Are the children of darkness to be forever *so much* wiser than the children of light? In the recent choice of delegates for the Nashville Convention, I have not seen a single instance where Whig and Democrat have not been chosen, as though they were Siamese Twins, and must go together. But here it often happens, that as soon as one party is known to be in favor of one man, this act alone is deemed a sufficient reason why another party should oppose him. Why can we not combine for the sacred cause of Freedom, as they combine for Slavery? No thought or desire is further from my mind than that of interfering with any man's right of suffrage; but if (which is by no means impossible, or perhaps improbable,) the fate of New Mexico should be decided by one vote, and my vote should have been the cause of a variance in any Congressional District that might have sent a friend to Freedom, I should say, with Cain, "My punishment is greater than I can bear."

On the subject of the present alienation and discord between the North and the South, I wish to say that I have as strong a desire for reconciliation and amity as any one can have. There is *no pecuniary* sacrifice within the limits of the Constitution, which I would not willingly make for so desirable an object. Public revenues I would appropriate—private taxation I would submit to—to relieve this otherwise thrice glorious Republic, from the calamity and the wrong of Slavery. I would not only resist the devil, but if he will flee from me, I will build a bridge of gold to facilitate his escape. I mention this to prove that it is not the value, *in money*, of territorial freedom, for which I contend, but its value *in character, in justice, and human happiness*. While I utterly deny the claim set up by the South, yet I would gladly consent that my Southern fellow-citizens should go to the territories and carry there every kind of property which I can carry. I would then give to the Southern States their full share of all the income ever to be derived from the sales of the public lands, or the leasing of the public mines; and whatever, after this deduction, was left in the public treasury, should be appropriated for the whole nation, as has been the practice heretofore. That is, in consideration of excluding Slavery from the territories, I would give the South a double share, or even a three fold share, of all the income that may ever be derived from them. Pecuniary surrenders I would gladly make for the sake of peace, but not for peace itself would I surrender liberty.

It would be to suppose our merchants and manufacturers void of common foresight, could they believe that concession now, will bring security hereafter. By yielding the moral question, they jeopard their pecuniary interests. Should the South succeed in their present attempt upon the territories, they will impatiently await the retirement of Gen. Taylor from the Executive Chair, to add the "State of Cuba," with its 500,000 slaves, its ignorance and its demoralization, to their roll of triumph. California will be a free-trade State, by the most certain of all biases. They will have nothing to sell but gold; they will have everything to buy—from cradles to coffins, and all between. If New Mexico is slave it will also be free-trade; and Cuba as certainly as either—though in that island facilities for smuggling will reduce the difference between tariff and free-trade to nothing. A surrender, therefore, by our Northern business men, will be most disastrous to the very business that tempts them to surrender. Will they take no warning from the fact that their apathy in regard to Texas repealed the tariff of 1842? This is a low motive, I admit; but it may be set as a back fire to the motive by which some of them appear to be influenced. There was no need, not a shadow of need, of perilling any principles, or any interest. Had the North stood firm, had they been true to the great principle they have so often and so solemnly proclaimed, the waves of Southern violence would have struck harmless at their feet. He is not learned in the weather who does not know that South storms, though violent, are short. We are assailed now because we have yielded before. The compromise of 1820 begat the nullification of 1832; the compromise of 1832 inspired the mad exploit of compassing Texas, which our greater madness made sane. The moral paralysis which failed to oppose the Mexican war, has given us the territories. If the territories are now surrendered we shall have Cuba, and an indefinite career of conquest and of Slavery will be opened on our Southwestern border. Every new concession transfers strength from our side to the side of our opponents; and if we cannot arrest our own course when we are just entering the rapids, how can we arrest it when we come near the verge of the cataract? The South may rule the Union, but they cannot divide it. Their whole Atlantic seaboard is open to attack and powerless for defence; and the Mississippi river may as easily be divided physically as politically into independent portions. With these advantages, let us never aggress upon their rights; but let us maintain our own.

Fellow-citizens, I would gladly relieve the darkness of this picture by some gleams of light. There are two hopes which, as yet, are not wholly extinguished in my mind. Beyond all question a compromise bill will be reported, by the committee of thirteen, and will pass the Senate, and free California will be made to carry as great a burden of Slavery as she can bear. It is still *possible* that the House will treat it as it deserves this adulterous union. A single vote may turn the scale, and Massachusetts may give that vote. Not improbably, too, the fate of the bill may depend upon the earnestness and decision with which Northern constituencies make their sentiments known to their representatives, whether by petitions, by private letters, or by public resolutions. Let every lover of freedom do his best and his most.

Should the North fail, I have still one more hope. It is that New Mexico will do for herself what we shall have basely failed to do for her. If both these hopes fail, our country is doomed to run its unobstructed career of conquest, of despotism, and of infamy.

I have now, my fellow-citizens, given you my "Views and Opinions" on the present crisis in our public affairs. Had I regarded my own feelings, I should have spoken less at length; but the subject has commanded me. I trust I have spoken respectfully towards those from whom I dissent, while speaking my own sentiments justly and truly. I have used no asperity, for all my emotions have been of grief and not of anger. My words have been as cool as the telegraphic wires, while my feelings have been like the lightning that runs through them. The idea that Massachusetts should contribute, or consent, to the extension of Human Slavery!—is it not enough, not merely to arouse the living from their torpor, but the dead from their graves! Were I to help it; nay, did I not oppose it with all the powers and faculties which God has given me, I should see myriads of agonized faces glaring out upon me from the future, more terrible than Duncan's at Macbeth; and I would rather feel an assassin's poignard in my breast than forever hereafter to see the "air-drawn daggers;" of a guilty imagination. In Massachusetts, the great drama of the Revolution begun. Some of its heroes yet survive amongst us. At Lexington, at Concord, and on Bunker Hill, the grass still grows greener where the soil was fattened with the blood of our fathers. If, in the Providence of God, we must be vanquished in this contest, let it be by force of the overmastering and inscrutable powers above us, and not by our own base desertion.

I am, gentlemen, your much honored, obliged and obedient servant, HORACE MANN.

SOUTHERNERS IN CALIFORNIA.—A letter to the *Ohio Statesman*, dated San Francisco, April 1, 1850, has the following account of the doings of a southern emigrant in California. Speaking of Los Angelos, he says:

And this is the portion of California upon which the South wished to fix the curse of Slavery. Several emigrants have slaves there now, and flog them as they did in the States. A man called Colonel Thorn administered to two colored men, whom he called slaves, three hundred lashes each on one night, and one hundred each the next. On the same night another colored man was decoyed into the hands of a mob. Believing that they intended to mob him, he ran. Six pistol shots were fired after him, three of which hit him, though without doing much injury. He escaped by leaping a wall some ten feet high. All these cases, with the names of the offenders and witnesses, were reported to the Alcalde, by the Chief of Police, but no warrant was ever issued for their arrest. Let us have more emigrants from the Northern States to establish law and order in this delightful valley.

A Baltimore correspondent of *The Tribune* relates an interesting incident:

Our County Court was engaged for several days last week in hearing a petition of a colored woman named Rebecca Garrett and ten children, who claimed their freedom from a man named Isaac Anderson, of Howard District. The woman had been permitted to go at large for a period of *twenty years*, during which time she had married and raised a family of ten children. Her master then seeing that she and her family were worth some three or four thousand dollars, claimed them as his property—to be disposed of as he saw proper. Several Quakers, however, took the matter in hand, and employing good counsel contested the case in a Court of Justice, which resulted in the Judge's charging the jury that if they believed the petitioners had been going at large for a *long period*, (without limitation,) doing acts inconsistent with Slavery, with the knowledge of their owner, they were entitled to their freedom, and so the jury rendered their verdict. The case will be taken to the Court of Appeals by the owner, however. This verdict is a great triumph of Justice in Maryland, as it reverses the old accepted law, that a party could let his slaves act as free persons for years, and then, through caprice or avarice, seize them and sell them into bondage. It is one bright spot on the slave-stained escutcheon of my native State, and argues a better change of feeling than I could have hoped for.

The number of slaves who have absconded this Spring from their owners is said to be large, and reports of the continual emigration to "free soil" multiply thickly. If masters will not free their slaves, they seem disposed to free themselves. I will try and show you, before long, the extent of this emigration. It will open slave-owners' eyes, I think.

A COMPARISON.—The Free Soilers of Cleveland, Ohio, unanimously adopted the following:

Resolved, That there is no moral difference between the slave trade in Africa, and on the African coast carried on by outlaws and heathen—a trade which our laws declare to be a piracy—and the slave trade in America, and on the American coast, carried on by law abiding citizens and *nominal Republicans and Christians*.

National Anti-Slavery Standard.

Without Concealment---Without Compromise.

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, JUNE 13, 1850.

Congress—California—Cuba.

Congress has at length reached a point where a decision of some sort, as to the admission of new Territories and of California, must be come to. The debate ceases by previous arrangement in the House to-day—Wednesday—and the 'Omnibus' bill is now before the Senate for final consideration, though that body seems to make but little headway with it. We give *The Tribune's* report of such portion of the proceedings as mark any progress on Wednesday last:

MR. WHITCOMB addressed the Senate, contradicting the statement that he is the author of the amendment suggested by Mr. Pratt, and modified and accepted by Jefferson Davis. He was, on the contrary, opposed to that amendment because it specially provided for the protection of slave property. He was opposed to any such action by Congress, as well as to the Wilmot Proviso. He went into a history of his election to the Senate, also, to show that he was not elected as a *Proviso* or Free Soil man, as had been charged, and declared himself highly favorable to the extension of the Ordinance of '87 to the Territories. In conclusion, he said he should travel along with the bill, strive to amend it in accordance with his convictions, and if he could not get it in a shape justifying him in voting for it, he would vote against it. He desired to settle all these questions, but in the last resort would vote for the admission of California as an independent measure.

MR. DICKINSON explained, that he should vote against Mr. Chase's amendment to the amendment, because he saw nothing in Mr. Davis's amendment making it necessary; he desired also to say, once for all, that he should vote neither for the restriction nor extension of Slavery.

The question being then taken on Mr. Chase's proposition, (which provides that nothing in Mr. Davis's amendment shall be construed so as to authorize the introduction of Slavery in the Territories) it was rejected by yeas 25, and nays 30, as follows:

(In this and the subsequent votes we put the names of Northern Senators in italics, and of Southern in small caps, where it is necessary to distinguish them.)

YEAS—Baldwin, Bradbury, Bright, Chase, Clarke, Corwin, Cooper, Davis of Mass., Dayton, Dodge of Wis. Douglass, Felch, Green, Hale, Hamlin, Miller, Norris, Seward, Shields, Smith, Spruance, Upham, Walker, Webster, Whitcomb.

NAYS—Atchison, Badger, Bell, Benton, Berrien, Butler, *Cass*, Clay, Clemens, Davis of Miss., Dawson, *Dickinson*, *Dodge* of Iowa, Downs, Foote, Houston, Hunter, Jones, King, Mangum, Mason, Morton, Pearce, Pratt, Rusk, Sebastian, Soule, *Sturgeon*, Turney, Underwood.

The question was then taken on Jefferson Davis's amendment, (which proposes to permit the Territorial Legislatures to pass such laws as may be necessary for the protection of property of every kind, which may have been, or may hereafter be, introduced in said territories, conformably to the Constitution and Laws of the United States,) which was rejected—yeas 24, nays 31, as follows:

YEAS—Atchison, Badger, Bell, Berrien, Butler, Clay, Clemens, Davis of Miss, Dawson, DICKINSON, Downs, Foote, Houston, Hunter, King, Mangum, Mason, Morton, Pearce, Pratt, Rusk, Sebastian, Soule, Turney, Underwood.

NAYS—Baldwin, BENTON, Bradbury, Bright, Cass, Chase, Clarke, Cooper, Corwin, Davis of Mass., Dayton, Dodge of Wis., Dodge of Iowa, Douglas, Felch, Greene, Hale, Hamlin, Jones, Miller, Norris, Seward, Shields, Smith, SPRUANCE, Sturgeon, Upham, Walker, Webster, Whitcomb.

MR. SEWARD moved to amend the thirty-eighth section, by adding the provisions of the Wilmot Proviso, which was rejected, by yeas 23, nays 33, as follows:

YEAS—Baldwin, Bradbury, Bright, Chase, Clarke, Cooper, Corwin, Davis of Mass., Dayton, Dodge of Wis., Doughty, Felch, Greene, Hale, Hamlin, Miller, Norris, Seward, Shields, Smith, Upham, Walker, Whitcomb.

NAYS—Atchison, Badger, Bell, Benton, Berrien, Butler, *Cass*, Clay, Clemens, Davis of Miss., Dawson, *Dickinson*, *Dodge* of Iowa, Downs, Foote, Houston, Hunter, *Jones*, King, Mangum, Mason, Morton, Pearce, Pratt, Rush, Sebastian, Soule, Spruance, *Sturgeon*, Turney, Underwood, *Webster*, Yulee.

MR. BERRIEN moved to amend the tenth section, so as to strike out from the clause restricting the Territorial Legislature from passing any law in respect to African Slavery, and substituting therefor the words, "in respect to the establishing or prohibiting," which was adopted—Yeas 30, Nays 24:

YEAS—Atchison, Badger, Bell, Berrien, Borland, Butler, Clay, Clemens, Davis of Miss, Dawson, *Dickinson*, Downs, Foote, Houston, Hunter, Jones, King, Mangum, Mason, Morton, Pearce, Pratt, Rusk, Sebastian, Soule, Spruance, *Sturgeon*, Turney, *Webster*, Yulee.

NAYS—Baldwin, BENTON, Bradbury, Bright, Cass, Chase, Clarke, Cooper, Corwin, Davis of Mass, Dayton, Dodge of Wis., Dodge of Iowa, Doughty, Felch, Greene, Hale, Hamlin, Miller, Norris, Seward, Shields, Smith, UNDERWOOD, Upham, Walker, Whitcomb.

MR. HALE moved to amend the section, as amended, by inserting after the word "prohibiting," the word "allowing." His object was to prevent the Legislatures from assuming that Slavery already exists in the Territories, and legislating upon that assumption.

MR. FOOTE and MR. BUTLER opposed the amendment, as going over ground already covered by the words "establishing," or "prohibiting."

The amendment was rejected—yeas, 21; nays, 36, as follows:

YEAS—Baldwin, Bradbury, Chase, Clarke, Corwin, Davis of Mass, Dayton, Dodge of Wis., Doughty, Felch, Greene, Hale, Hamlin, Miller, Norris, Seward, Shields, Smith, Upham, Walker, Whitcomb.

NAYS—Atchison, Badger, Bell, Benton, Berrien, Borland, *Bright*, Butler, *Cass*, Clay, Clemens, *Cooper*, Davis of Miss., Dawson, *Dickinson*, *Dodge* of Iowa, Downs, Foote, Houston, Hunter, Jones, King, Mangum, Mason, Morton, Pearce, Pratt, Rusk, Sebastian, Soule, Spruance, *Sturgeon*, Turney, Underwood, *Webster*, Yulee.

MR CHASE moved to strike out the words "prohibiting African"—upon which the yeas and nays were refused, and the amendment was rejected without a count.

MR. DOUGLAS moved to strike out the entire restriction in relation to Slavery, which was rejected.—Yeas 21, Nays 33, as follows:

YEAS—Messrs. Bradbury, Cass, Chase, Clarke, CLAY, Cooper, Corwin, Dickinson, Dodge of Iowa, Douglass, Felch, Greene, Hamlin, Jones, Miller, Norris, Seward, Shields, Sturgeon, Underwood, Upham.

NAYS—Messrs. Atchison, Badger, *Baldwin*, Bell, Benton, Berrien, Borland, *Bright*, Butler, Clemens, *Davis* of Mass., Dawson, *Dodge* of Wis., Downs, Foote, *Hale*, Houston, Hunter, King, Mangum, Mason, Morton, Pearce, Pratt, Rush, Sebastian, *Smith*, Soule, Spruance, Turney, *Walker*, *Webster*, *Whitcomb*, Yulee.

MR. WALKER moved to amend the section, by introducing a clause abolishing *Peon* servitude in the Territories.

MR. PRATT opposed the amendment, on the ground that Congress had no right to interfere with the vested rights of citizens in the Territories—rights acquired by contract. This peonage being in fact a servitude undertaken by contract, under legal enactments.

MR. DAYTON said he felt the full force of the remarks just made, and moved to modify the amendment, so as to refer only to all the future contracts. Pending this question, the Senate adjourned.

The next day the Senate resumed the consideration of the Omnibus bill.

The question pending when the Senate adjourned yesterday was upon an amendment by Mr. Walker, to abolish *Peonage*, which Mr. Dayton had moved to amend, by restricting its operation to *Peonage* growing out of future contracts.

MR. SEWARD demanded the Yeas and Nays on the latter amendment, and said he should vote for abolishing *Peon* servitude; it was time, as had been said by Mr. Clay, that the Senate had been six months endeavoring to admit California, and he had been all the days of these long months trying to arrest and prevent African Slavery; having failed in that, he deemed it not beneath their consideration to arrest and prevent the Slavery of the Indian race, the curse inflicted upon that race by Spain. It was said that the Senate did not know enough to act upon the question, but they knew enough to subvert the free Constitution of New Mexico and give it another; they ought then to know enough to give it a Constitution to abolish Slavery; they certainly knew that *Peon* servitude was Slavery; it was Slavery either voluntary or involuntary; Slavery created either by law or by contract; if by law, the law was vicious, void, and ought to be abolished; if by contract, the contract was void, for he held these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, and have certain undeniable rights, and among these rights, is Liberty.

A desultory debate ensued upon the amendment, it being objected that *Peonage* is a municipal regulation, altogether a contract, of which the Senate knew nothing—which they could not meddle with to advantage, and which ought to be left entirely to the Legislatures of the Territories.

The question being then on Mr. Dayton's amendment, it was rejected—Yeas 23, Nays 26—as follows:

YEAS—Atchison, Berrien, *Bradbury*, Clay, Clemens, *Cooper*, *Davis*, (Mass.) Dawson, *Dayton*, *Dickinson*, *Douglas*, *Felch*, *Hamlin*, Hunter, King, Mason, *Miller*, Morton, *Smith*, Spruance, *Sturgeon*, Underwood, *Webster*; total, twenty-three.

NAYS—Badger, *Baldwin*, Bell, Benton, Borland, Butler, *Chase*, *Corwin*, Davis, (Miss.) *Dodge*, (Wisconsin,) *Dodge*, (Iowa,) Foote, Houston, Jones, Mangum, *Norris*, *Pearce*, Pratt, Rusk, *Seward*, *Shields*, Soule, Turney, *Upham*, *Walker*, *Whitcomb*; total 26.

[The above and following vote we give as reported by the Telegraph, except that we have distinguished the names of Northern men by marking them in Italics.]

The question recurring on Mr. Walker's amendment, Mr. Dickinson said he should vote against it because it was calculated to embarrass the bill, and the subject was one that should be left to the discretion and intelligence of the Legislatures of the Territories. The amendment was then rejected—Yeas 20, Nays 32, as follows:

YEAS—*Baldwin*, Benton, *Bradbury*, *Chase*, *Corwin*, *Davis*, of Mass, *Dodge*, of Wis. *Dodge*, of Iowa, *Douglas*, *Felch*, *Greene*, *Hale*, *Hamlin*, *Jones*, *Norris*, *Seward*, Spruance, *Upham*, *Walker*.

NAYS—Atchison, Badger, Bell, Berrien, Borland, *Bright*, Butler, Clay, Clemens, *Cooper*, Davis, of Miss. Dawson, *Dickinson*, Downs, Foote, Houston, Hunter, King, Mangum, Mason, Morton, Pratt, Rusk, Sebastian, *Smith*, Soule, *Sturgeon*, Turney, Underwood, *Webster*, Yulee.

MR. YULEE moved to amend the tenth section, by adding the clause from the Clayton Compromise, extending the Constitution and laws of the United States over the Territories. He said his object was expressly to throw the two parties, North and South, upon their Constitutional rights in the Territories, and providing a means of procuring a judicial decision thereon.

MR. CLAY said that another section already provided for the extension of the laws so far as applicable, and he suggested that the Senator modify his amendment, by simply including the Constitution in the provisions of that section. He objected to the amendment, because he supposed no Southern man doubted that the Constitution was extended to the Territories by treaty.

MR. YULEE modified his amendment, as suggested by Mr. Clay, and the question being taken, after debate, in which the main objection urged to the amendment was that it was unnecessary, it was adopted—Yeas 30, Nays 21.

MR. BALDWIN moved to amend the 27th section, by adding the following: "It being hereby intended to be declared that the Mexican law abolishing Slavery shall continue to be in force, in said Territories until altered or repealed by Congress." Mr. Baldwin addressed the Senate at length in support of the amendment, and after some further debate, it was rejected, by yeas 23, nays 32, as follows:

YEAS—*Baldwin, Bradbury, Bright, Chase, Cooper, Corwin, Davis* of Mass. *Dayton, Dodge* of Wis. *Douglas, Felch, Greene, Hale, Hamlin, Miller, Norris, Seward, Shields, Smith, Spruance, Upham, Walker, Whitcomb.*

NAYS—Atchison, Badger, Bell, Benton, Berrien, Borland, Butler, *Cass*, Clay, Clemens, Davis of Miss. Dawson, *Dickinson*, *Dodge* of Iowa, Downs, Foote, Houston, Hunter, *Jones*, King, Mangum, Mason, Morton, Pearce, Pratt, Rusk, Sebastian, Soule, *Sturgeon*, Turney, Underwood, Yulee.

The Senate then adjourned.

—In the report of the debate on Saturday, we observe personal attacks upon Mr. Hale as the only point of any interest:

MR. DAWSON, (Whig) of Georgia, went into a castigation of Mr. Hale, intimating that he had mounted the Free Soil hobby for interested purposes, and reading from a letter, published several years ago, by Rev. Mr. Storer, in a paper called the Star, for the purpose of showing that Mr. Hale, at that time, took decided ground against abolitionism. The letter states that Mr. Hale, at the close of an address by Mr. Storer, arose and denounced Mr Hale in no measured terms, as well as declared the blacks to be beasts in human form, unfit to live free. He also read an editorial from the Dover (N. H.) Gazette, which he intimated was then under the control of Mr. Hale, in which also, the Abolitionists were handled with much severity, and an Abolition lecturer, named Thompson, is threatened with a law found inside of pine, and outside of goose, or in other terms, a coat of tar and feathers. Mr. Dawson thought the position taken by Mr. Hale at that time, honorable, creditable, and worthy of the good heart which he knew he possessed. He only alluded to this history now for the purpose of suggesting to the Senator, that having once held those views, and changed his own sentiments, he should have more consideration and charity for those who then thought with them, and whose views had not changed.

MR. HALE admitted the general accuracy of the statement made by the Rev. Mr. Storer, and that within fifteen years his sentiments had changed, and proceeded to defend himself with considerable force against the aspersions upon his course.

—On Monday the bill again has the order of the day. A motion was made and supported at length, by Mr. Benton, that its consideration be postponed till the 4th of March next. Mr. Hale further replied to the attack made upon him on Saturday.

MR. HALE addressed the Senate in reply to the personal attack made upon him by Mr. Dawson Saturday last, for the purpose of vindicating himself from the charge of having, from corrupt motives, mounted a hobby to ride into power. He gave a history of his political course, showing that at the time he separated from the Democratic party, with whom he stood as well as any man, that party was largely in the majority in New Hampshire. As for ambition for the future, he had only to say, that it is well known among his friends, that it was very far from his intention to serve out the brief term for which he had been elected to the Senate.

—The Cuban question is still agitating the public mind, and no little excitement was created here on Monday, as there had been a rumor the day before at Washington, that a despatch had been received by the Government advising it of a fight between a Spanish frigate, and the American sloop-of-war Albany, in which the latter was captured. The Captain of the Albany, it is said, demanded the release of certain prisoners of the Spaniards, which was refused, whence the battle ensued. Gen. Campbell, the American Consul was also reported to be imprisoned. A Cabinet Consul was called at Washington to decide what steps should be taken in this warlike emergency, when it turned out that the whole story was a fabrication.

Mr. Webster's Letter.

It is said, and, we believe, on unquestionable authority, that before the delivery of his speech of March 7th Mr. Webster asked of his friends in Boston how much Anti-Slavery his constituents would bear. The reply evidently was—none at all; and it is as evident that the advice was not only very ill-timed, but that the Senator himself is quite convinced of it. He is placed in the unpleasant predicament of a man who has done a thing which for the sake of consistency he is compelled to defend, but which for honor and interest's sake he is constrained to abandon. He hoped to be forgiven and applauded for a crime; but he cannot forgive himself for committing a blunder. His acts are a proof of how gladly he would eat his own words; and every successive explanation of them is a new evidence of the irritability which the deglutition and digestion of such a meal creates. He had good reason for wishing the suppression of the Anti-Slavery agitation, for it has placed him in that strait in which Peter found himself when he heard the cock crow, and for which Judas was so good as to go out and hang himself. Mr. Webster may, perhaps, weep also like Peter, though not with Peter's repentance, nor will he probably emulate, in his last act, the example of Judas, though so far as his good fame, his political prospects, his moral influence, and his own moral nature are concerned, he has hanged already.

In his letter to the contemporaries of Nathan Dane—the only respectable men among Mr. Webster's retainers seem to be men in their dotage—which letter we copy on our first page, if he means to prove anything it is that there is no necessity for jury trial for fugitive slaves. Mr. Walker's bill is to secure more effectually to the South the benefit of the fugitive clause of the Constitution. For that bill Mr. Webster avowed his intention of voting, and of voting for it with all its objectionable and revolting features, though he, or his friends for him, deny this, and by a transposition of a word make him say quite another thing from what he did say in the Senate, was thanked by Mr. Calhoun for saying, and repeated deliberately in the copy he revised for the reading of the people of Massachusetts,—when, by the bye, he remembered to add the allusion it was best to make, in Boston, to Mr. Hoar, but which it was convenient to forget to make in Washington. His argument is, that whereas there have been but few judicial trials in New England for the return of fugitives, that therefore, this class of persons do not need the protection of trial by Jury; as if rights could be measured by the quantity rather than the quality of the inflicted wrong. But he could bring no stronger evidence of the necessity of such protection. He cannot deny that cases of the return of fugitives are by no means rare. The claimants have not resorted to legal process to maintain their constitutional right to the slaves. But because that right has been so universally recognized that such a procedure has been altogether unnecessary. The border State of Pennsylvania he adduces as in a wholesome moral condition on this point, for her people understand the rights of their neighbors, and throw no obstacles in the way of the recapture of their fugitive property. The slaveholders doubtless would thank him for success in defeating a law of jury trial, but those who maintain the inalienable right to liberty in every human being believe that the condition of things in Pennsylvania should be altogether reversed, and that liberty, not Slavery, should be the rule. It is precisely because slaves are returned without legal process that a trial by Jury is needed, and not that such trial is unnecessary because the capture of fugitives are not found enumerated in legal records.

But Mr. Webster has himself given the best refutation of the letter to his Newburyport friends. Within the week he has offered the following Bill in the Senate, and of course, has done so because convinced by his own argument of the necessity of such a measure, unless, indeed, he meant to impose upon his friends a doctrine which he himself knows to be utterly false.

AN ACT amendatory of "an act respecting fugitives from justice, and persons escaping from the service of their masters," approved February 12, 1793.

SECTION 1. Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America, in Congress assembled, that the provisions of the said act shall extend to the territories of the United States; and that the commissioners who now are, or who may hereafter be, appointed by the Circuit Courts of the United States, or the District Courts, where Circuit Courts are not established, or by the Territorial Courts of the United States, all of which courts are authorized and required to appoint one or more commissioners in each county to take acknowledgments of bail and affidavits, and also to take depositions of witnesses in civil causes and who shall each, or any judge of the United States, on complaint being made on oath to him that a fugitive from labor is believed to be within the State or territory in which he lives, issue his warrant to the Marshal of the United States, or to any other person who shall be willing to serve it, authorizing an arrest of the fugitive, if within the State or territory, to be brought before him or some other commissioner or judge of the United States Court, within the State or territory, that the right of the person claiming the services of such fugitive, may be examined. And on the hearing, depositions duly authenticated and parol proof shall be heard, to establish the identity of the fugitive and the right of the claimant, and also to show that slavery is established in the State from which the fugitive absconded. And if on such hearing the Commissioner or Judge shall find the claim to the services of the fugitive, as asserted, sustained by the evidence, he shall make out a certificate of the material facts proved and of his judgement thereon, which he shall sign and which shall be conclusive of the right of the claimant or his agent to take the fugitive back to the State whence he fled. ☞ *Provided*, that if the fugitive shall deny ☞ that he owes service to the claimant under the ☞ laws of the State where he was held, and after being duly cautioned as to the solemnities and con☞sequences of an oath, shall swear to the same, the ☞ Commissioner or Judge shall forthwith summon a ☞ Jury of twelve men to try the right of the claim☞ant, who shall be sworn to try the cause according ☞ to evidence, and the Commissioner or Judge shall ☞ preside at the trial and determine the competency ☞ of the proof.

SECT. 2. And be it further enacted, that the Commissioner shall receive ten dollars in each case tried by him, as aforesaid, the Jurors fifty cents each, and the Marshal or other person serving the process, shall receive five dollars for serving the warrant on each fugitive, and for mileage and other services the same as are allowed to the Marshal for similar services, to be examined and allowed by the Commissioner or Judge and paid by the claimant.

Jamaica

The *Tribune* has been furnished with the following letter from Jamaica written by G. W. Alexander, a well-known member of the Society of Friends, who is now, and has been for several months past, travelling with a companion in the West Indies as an agent of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society. The object of their mission is to observe the results of Emancipation in the several Islands:

KINGSTON, Jamaica, Thursday, 2 mo. 52.

MY DEAR FRIEND: I write very hastily, to inform you that my wife and self, with our companions, J. and M. Candler, intend to leave this place for New-York by the steamer, on the 18th of next month, or thereabout. We have now been five weeks in Jamaica, during which we have travelled over a large part of the Island, and are truly glad to find the condition of planters, merchants and laborers better than we expected. That of the latter, especially, is in general one of much comfort.—This fine Island is not at present hastening to ruin notwithstanding the severe trial to which it has been exposed by the cruel, injurious, and inconsistent Sugar Act of 1846. It has been delightful to us to see the large number of the emancipated peasantry and their children who are brought under a moral and religious influence, by the good men who are scattered over Jamaica. There can, I think, be little or no doubt that the population is increasing, now that the dead weight of Slavery is removed, and there are many indications of an increase of cultivation, which will, unless I am much mistaken, be very shortly manifested by larger exports, unless checked by bad legislation, or the operation of the decreasing scale of duties at which foreign sugar is to be introduced for consumption in Britain. It remains, however, to be seen whether the friends of the slave in England will yet allow the Sugar Act of 1846 to be carried into full effect, I much doubt it. At least this will not be done, I believe without a very serious struggle, in Parliament. I yesterday went with our party to see a slaver, brought into Kingston within a day or two, with the slaves on board. She was first seen by a British cruiser near the Isle of Pines on the coast of Cuba, for which country the slaves were destined, and secured after a chase of 49 hours. This slaver was a favorable specimen of the mode in which the horrid traffic in human beings is carried on as she had only 350 slaves on board when she left the coast of Africa, and was of the burden of 288 tuns. It had, however, been intended as we were informed, to ship a much larger number. Of the original cargo, 60 had died before the capture and 40 since, leaving about 250 men, woman and children. Of these, from their appearance, there can be little doubt but that some will yet be added to the list of death connected with the diabolical enterprise. We saw the slave captain, whose countenance indicated as utter an absence of feeling as can well be conceived in a human being. When shall this abominable traffic cease? When your country shall do its duty in the Abolition of Slavery; and that day is not, I trust, distant. Slavery and the slave trade will soon be doomed in Brazil and Cuba. J. Candler and I propose to visit, during a stay of about a month in the United States of America, some of your principle cities, proceeding as far South as Washington, and probably embarking at Boston for England, where I hope within less than three months from this time, once more to see my beloved family.

With kind regards, I remain, very sincerely, G. W. A.

Domestic Correspondence.

From Our Boston Correspondent.

NO. LXII.

THE ARGUMENT. *The New England Convention.—Its attractiveness.—Sprinklings of its Baptism.—Edges, galleries and aisles.—The Pilgrims of the Holy Week.—The Retainers of 1835 and 1850.—The Correspondent preacheth.—He putteth off his gown and bands and descendeth from the pulpit.—He discriminateth the auditory.—Its elements.—He mourneth over the degeneracy of the Mob.—"The lost leaders."—The present ones.—Ben Allens and Bob Sawyers.—The Correspondent bewaileth over possible patients and clients.—How put down,—The Mayor and the Police.—The Mayor and the* NON-RESISTANTS.*—The Correspondent maketh distinctions.—Abolitionists not necessarily Non-Resistants.—Why protection of police not called in.—The Correspondent maintaineth Hubbard Winslow's definition of Civil Liberty.—The genuine article.—The Opening of Mr. Gliddon's Mummy.—The coffin opened.—The Second day.—The Body disclosed.—The Book of the Dead.—Mummification at different times.—Disclosures of third day.—Heavy blow.—Our forbearance. The Manager's Apology.—A mistake rectified.—Mr. Wendell Phillips' Mummy.—Remarks on his lecture upon the same.—Rebuke of an anonymous Fanatic, &c. &c. &c.*

BOSTON, June 8th, 1850.

The New England Anti-Slavery Convention has again maintained its long-established character as the chief attraction of the Anniversary week. Indeed, it seems to have been more attractive than usual, judging from the crowds that thronged it, from the very hour of its opening. The numbers of persons who got some sprinklings of this baptism are very great; for the audience is continually shifting. Besides the steady crowd that are in constant attendance, the edges of the meeting, the galleries and aisles, are in a continued state of flux and efflux; so that a very great multitude hear some portion of the preached word, before it is all over. The town, too, is full of ministers and devout men and women from all parts of New England, who come up to one or another of the sectarian feasts, of which that is the Holy Week; and very few of them can help finding themselves within reach of our moral manipulation, for a longer or shorter time. This is one of the appointed means of acting on the general mind; and it is through its faithful application, among others, that so great a change has been created in its tone and expression. People find fault with the language, the temper, the spirit, the taste of the Abolitionists; but all the time they are moulded by them as the clay is shaped by the hand of the potter. What else has made Congress a great Anti-Slavery Debating Society, and forced the whole nation to fix its attention on this one question? What has compelled the Churches and religious papers to assume an Anti-Slavery virtue, at least, and politicians and political presses to put on the decent disguise of opposition to Slavery? Nothing but the Anti-Slavery Agitation. This is the only new element that has been at work since 1835. And yet, in 1850, only some nine hundred names could be procured to bolster up Mr. Webster, as the incarnation of the Slave Idea, while, in 1835, there were 1,500 to call the great pro-slavery meeting which engendered the Garrison Mob. And the business population of Boston has nearly doubled since then!

But I am putting on my gown and bands and beginning to *preach*, as if I were occupying the pulpit editorial, instead of being a mere collector of tea-table gossippings for the delectation of your readers, after the regular services of the sanctuary are over. But the New England Convention owes its picturesqueness to its moral character, and one cannot enjoy the *coup d'œil* of the variegated auditory without seeing behind it the restless sense of shortcoming in this matter of Slavery, which drives or draws the crowds to the Assembly that is pointing out the only way of deliverance. All classes of Society, from the wealthiest and most cultivated, every profession in life, and all shades of character, have their representatives there. Even the mob element is not wanting, which is essential to the composition of a genuine American public meeting. The Anti-Slavery meetings are the only ones that King Mob dares show his face in, now. And how shorn of his former glory! Instead of "gentlemen in broadcloth" from State street, only scurvy boys, the refuse of the liquor shops, and two or three Ben Allens or Bob Sawyers from doctors' or lawyers' offices (the Lord have mercy on their patients or their clients yet to come!), are all that is left to vindicate the dignity of the Sovereign People! And they were put down in the most victorious manner, and that, mainly, by the character of the meeting and the power of the Speakers. As your Corresponding Editor stated, last week, the Mayor was present, on the last evening, with a strong body of police, and was disposed to do his best to preserve order. But the principal effect of his interposition will be prospective, by giving currency to the strange and, hitherto, scouted idea that an Anti-Slavery Meeting is entitled to the same protection as a political or religious one. At the time, the well meant attempts of the police rather aggravated than diminished the disturbance, on that evening. On the other evenings, when the crowd was much less, their presence was of very obvious efficiency.

I see that Mayor Bigelow, in a speech at the dinner of the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company, last Monday, as a proof of the necessity of the worshipful corps he was addressing, as a protection of civil society, stated "that the *Non-Resistants*, at their meeting the week before, had invoked the aid of the City Authorities for their protection, and had received it! Now, it would be as well for Mr. Bigelow, and all others concerned, to know that an Anti-Slavery Meeting and a Non-Resistance Meeting are two very distinct things. What an assemblage of the latter character would do in analogous circumstances, those who would constitute it must decide for themselves. But an Anti-Slavery Meeting is no more bound by their opinions or practices than the Ancient and Honorable itself. You may be glad or sorry for it, according to your own private views on the subject; but the fact is, that a very small fraction of those constituting an Anti-Slavery Meeting are Non-Resistants in principle. Though they may refuse to act themselves in a magisterial or ministerial office (other than as a part of the *posse*), for which they can only qualify themselves by taking an oath which they deem it sin to keep, still they hold themselves entitled to all that protection of person and property, for which they pay in taxes, and which they are ready to assist in maintaining in their purely personal capacity. That the municipal arm has not been called in on former occasions was not that the men having the direction of the Meetings disturbed had any scruples about the propriety of it, but because they had the best of reasons for believing that it would not have come, in any efficient shape, if they had called for it. At the time of the Garrison Mob, the Mayor was well enough disposed, but he had not the physical resources to put down the mob, or to rescue Mr. Garrison, as he himself acknowledged. The famous definition of the Rev. Hubbard Winslow, that civil liberty is the liberty of doing what "the voice and will of the brotherhood will allow and protect," is strictly true of what passes under that name in this country. It has been part of the work of the Abolitionists, for fifteen years, to convert the "voice and will of the brotherhood" up to the point of protecting *them*. If they persevere, there is reason to believe that they will manufacture, at last, the genuine article instead of the Brummagem imitation which has been current so long in America.

During the past week, the principal attraction has been the unrolling of a Mummy by Mr. Gliddon, the Oriental traveller and lecturer. This one, he had reason to suppose, was about 3,500 years old, and to be that of an Egyptian priestess. A natural curiosity to assist at the toilette of a lady of such rank and standing filled the Tremont Temple, as might be expected. The first day was devoted chiefly to the opening of the inner coffin, which was standing on its feet, facing us, when we went in. It had been taken out of the larger outer coffin, previously, which stood gaping at us from the side of the platform. The inner coffin was fitted to the figure, and the carved face was supposed to be a likeness of the "party," as Mr. Mould would say, inside. It had been very handsomely painted and gilt, of which there were some remains left. The shape of the coffin fixed its date as posterior to the year B. C. 1500, as, previously to that recent date, the coffins had been square. The inscription on the coffin was partially obliterated by the bitumen with which it had been smeared before placing it in its outer case. After these explanations had been made, the coffin was laid on its back, and a carpenter began to saw it around the sides. As this was a delicate operation, it took about half an hour to complete it. The anxiety of Mr. Glidon, and the intense interest of the spectators, was very marked at this critical moment. But upon his taking off the upper half of the coffin, there lay the mummy, wrapped in its cerements of linen cloth, beautifully clean and fresh, the hieroglyphics upon them as distinct as if written yesterday. It was an affecting and almost sublime sight, when it was remembered that all that we know of civilization or religion was born ages after this monument of flesh was supposed to have been erected. The cloth was of about the color of yellow nankeen, and was in perfectly good preservation. The mummy was then raised from its coffin and placed on its feet, for the inspection of the curious.

At the next lecture, the process of unrolling it was performed, in the presence of as large a number as the great hall could contain, by Professors Agassiz and Wymans of Cambridge, and Dr. Charles T. Jackson, of Boston. After endless strips of linen had been taken off, a layer of linen saturated with gum, fitting close to the body, was reached, which had to be cut with the knife. At last, the body itself was disclosed, and the roll of papyras, called the Book of the Dead, always buried with persons of distinction, taken from its bosom. It presented no very attractive spectacle, the boiling bitumen in which it had been plunged having destroyed nearly all semblance of humanity. But there it was, an unquestionable mummy. The mummies prepared anterior to 1500 B. C. are of a higher order of art than those made since the introduction of bitumen, after the conquest of Nineveh about that time. Of this, Mr. Gliddon showed us a specimen in a beautifully shaped foot of a girl, the age of which, he said, could not be less than *four thousand* years. It was about of the color of beeswax. On the third day, he was compelled to disclose two circumstances which the inspection had brought to light, which took our enthusiasm down a peg or two. In the first place, the body turned out not to be the body of a priestess at all, but of *a man*; and, secondly, the interior inscriptions proved that the deceased flourished not 3,500 years ago, but only a paltry 27 or 2800. This was a severe blow. When we thought we had had a glimpse of a fair priestess of Isis or Osiris, to find that it was only a great hulking man we had been admiring, was too bad! It was like poor Slender's finding "sweet Anne Page" metamorphosed into "a great lubberly boy."

And then, again, when we had been making up all our emotions on the hypothesis that our friend was at latest a contemporary of Moses, and actually might been a spectatress of the Exodus, to be brought down, without preparation, to the times of David and Solomon, was "a heavy blow and great discouragement." To find that we had been admiring a mere *parvenu*, one who *might* "have dropped a halfpenny in Homer's hat," and who did not die above two centuries and a half before "Romulus and Remus first were suckled," might well provoke greater saints than make up the mass of American audiences. Our first impulse, of course, as free and independent Americans, was to throw Mr. Gliddon out of the window, and his mummy after him. But we were merciful as we were mighty, and heard his *apology*. It was not uningenious (if there be such a word, or if there be *not*). He said that, at the lowest calculation, there must have been a hundred corpses delivered daily to the undertakers of Thebes, to be embalmed. The process took seventy days. So that, before the priestess who was put into their hands was ready for delivery, there were at least *seven thousand* bodies in her company. It was not, therefore, strange that the marks and numbers should have been mixed, and a wrong body put into her coffin. It must have been vexatious; but it could not be helped. And Mr. G. assured us that it was by no means uncommon for Egyptian ladies to be found reposing in the sarcophagi of the rougher sex, and *vice versa*. And that the impropriety was thus accounted for. It *was* a little odd that a blunder of a Theban undertaker, nine hundred years before Christ, should be detected for the first time in Boston, eighteen hundred and fifty years after him.

I must tell you of one little interlude which it was my lot to overhear. Your Senior Corresponding Editor (whose name I still see in your imprint, notwithstanding my advice to the contrary) told you last week of Mr. Phillips's having proposed in Faneuil Hall "in anticipation of Mr. Gliddon to unrol the mummy of the Rev. William M. Rogers, of the Winter street Church." This type or figure, it seems, has caused great mirth or scandal, according as grace or sin abounds in the parties hearing of it, from some imagined resemblance between the Reverend gentleman in question and one of those ancient preparations. I need hardly say that Mr. P. had no personal peculiarities of the subject before him in his eye when he spoke. It was only *moral* desiccation and ligation that he looked at. But to my story. On one of these days I overheard, as I said before, a young gentleman of an eminent scientific position address an individual whom I have a reason to believe to be a fanatic of your own brand, to this effect:

"And so I see that you had a mummy unrolled at Faneuil Hall the other night, in anticipation of Mr. Gliddon!"

"It cannot be denied" responded the other.

"Well," continued the first gentleman, "it was a very good thing. But I am very sorry Mr. Phillips should have said it; for, you know, the man looks just like a mummy!"

"And so am I," said the incorrigible offender in question, after a moment's consideration, and in a tone of deep sympathy, "for it *was* being rather too hard on the *Mummy!*"

D. Y.

General Intelligence.

It is said that five United States soldiers were branded on the hip with the letter D., and flogged, a few days since, at the Newport barracks.

A great public meeting took place at New-Orleans, and recommended the Councils of the three Municipalities to appropriate funds sufficient to defray the expenses for a suitable testimonial to Father Mathew.

THE POWER OF WOMAN.—The Board of Excise met to-day at 10 o'clock to grant Licences, and to transact other business. We are informed that a number of Ladies of this place, and a few from Horseheads, repeated their annual visit before the Honorable Board, which was ably addressed by Mrs. N. W. Gardiner of this place, and Mrs. Demarest of Horseheads, who advocated their cause with ability, and in a manner, we doubt not, that made some of the honorable members, who wished to be on both sides of the question, feel rather "uneasy in their boots." *No Licenses were granted.*—*Elmira Republican.*

CIVILIZATION IN ALABAMA.—The *Montgomery Advertiser*, speaking of Senator Benton, says:

"We should like to see the old traitor attempt to '*stump*' it in Alabama. We have some crooked *trees* here, with a certain significant curve, that could be more appropriately applied to his use. Are we understood? If not, a few feet of hemp will render all plain."

WASHINGTON'S WILL.—A phamphlet edition of Washington's Will, printed at Alexandria in 1800, has been accidently found in Trenton among some old rubbish, and brought to this city for sale. It is a very interesting document, as showing that the Father of his Country made arrangements for the liberation and liberal provision for the maintenance of all the Slaves he owned in his own right. His schedule of property, drawn up by his own hand, on the 9th July, 1799, shows he owned stocks, land, &c., to the amount of $530,000.

PEACE CONGRESS.—At the Convention of the friends of Peace held in this city on the 23d instant, Nathaniel Barney, Esq., of Nantucket, was appointed a Delegate to represent this Congressional District in the Peace Congress, and Rev. John Weiss was chosen as the representative from this city. Rev. Moses G. Thomas was appointed a substitute for either or both of the first named gentlemen.—*New Bedford Mercury.*

Donations to A. A. S. Society.

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PARKVILLE HYDROPATHIC INSTITUTE (near Woodbury, N. J.) having been recently enlarged can now accommodate a few more patients. Applications for admission to be made to Samuel Webb, Secretary, No. 58 south Fourth street, Philadelphia; where the Resident Physician (Joseph A Weder M. D. a pupil of Preissnitz, and who has had much experience in Hydropathy both in this country and in Europe) can be consulted on the Fourth day (Wednesday) of every week, between 12 and 1 P. M. * 4t.

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TERMS OF THE WORK.—The American edition, the first number of which is already issued, will be published in semi-monthly numbers of 64 pages, with an English steel engraving in each number, of which there will be about 22 in all. Price 25 cents per Number, or $5 in advance for the 22 Numbers.

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Miscellany.

MICHAEL WIGGLESWORTH.

We give below a literal transcript (preserving the peculiarities of orthography) of certain tender epistles indited by Rev. Michael Wigglesworth to the widow of an eminent physician, who became the wife of his old age. They were written when he had about completed his third score of years. To most of our readers, he is known solely as the author of that fearful poem, the "Day of Doom," and the only relenting of his rigid nature, of which they have been apprised, is his assigning to infants, because they have sinned only in Adam, "the easiest room in hell." These letters show him to have been "a man of like passions" with others, and (except the mysterious hint about putting superfluous children out of the way) exhibit him in an aspect by no means unamiable. He was, it is belived, notwithstanding his repulsive creed, "a man of the beatitudes," a physician to the bodies no less than to the soul of his parishioners, genial and devotedly kind in the relations and duties of his social and professional life, and distinguished, even in those days of abounding sanctity, for the singleness and purity of heart that characterized his whole walk and conversation. His poetical master-work, which has passed through seven American and one or more English editions, was written as a *diversion* for weary hours during a period of bodily infirmity, when he was disabled for the discharge of public duty.

LETTER I.

These for his esteemed friend Mrs. Avery, widdow at her house, Dedham.

Mrs. Avery—

I heartily salute you in the Lord, giving you many thanks for yo'r courtesies when I was at yo'r house last October; since which time I have had many thoughts of you, and desires to speak with you: But not judging it seasonable, I have been still thus long. And now I make bold to visit you with a line or two, desiring to know how it fareth with yourself & children this sickly time, 2ly whither you still continue in yo'r widdowhood & ar at Liberty or free from any Engagement, that a Man may visit you without offence, 3ly And if you be free, whither a visit from me in order unto some further acquaintance would be welcome to you. To which queries if you please to return me a brief Answer by this bearer, I shall take it for a kindness, & shall the better understand what God calls me to do, being ready to wait upon you by a visit by ye first opportunity, if you encourage me so to doo. Not else at present, but with my hearty Prayers for yourself & yours I rest,

yo'r loving Friend
Mic'l Wigglesworth.

Maldron, Feb'r 11, 1690

If you cannot conveniently return an answer in writing so speedily, you may trust the Messenger to bring it by word of mouth, who is grave & faithful, and knows upon what errant he is sent.

Since the former lines were writ I received the ill news of yo'r mothers Death, which if it be True I am really touched therewith for yo'r sake, who have already met with so many sad Bereavments, and now have this sad loss added to all the rest. I pray God you may have wisdom & Grace to bear it patiently & not to sink under it or to be discouraged by it. For it is ye Lord that hath done it, & he doeth all things well & for our Profit, & can bring the greatest good out of the greatest evils, and is wont to give us more of himself when he leaves us less of the Creature, when father & mother both forsake you then the Lord will take you up and take care of you & yours, you have already found him to be a gracious & faithful God, and he is still ye same. He hath already been with you in six troubles, & he will be with you in a seventh. Many are the troubles of ye Righteous, but ye Lord delivereth out of them all. In all their afflictions he is afflicted, & the Angel of his presence saveth them. Wherefore cheer up yo'r Heart & imitate David, that when his wives and all was gone yet incouraged himself in the Lord his God. And who knoweth but that when ye storm is at ye height a calm may be near—yet God many Times by afflictions prepareth us for Grace. Blessed is the man whom thou correctest, & teachest him out of thy Law, that thou mayest give him rest from days of adversity. Psalms 94. 13—the Lord make this & such like considerations to be a comfort & a support unto you. farewell.

LETTER II.

Mrs. Avery
& my very Kind Friend.

I heartily salute you in ye Lord with many thanks for yo'r kind entertainment when I was with you March 2d. I have made bold once more to visit you by a few lines in ye inclosed paper, not to prevent a personal visit, but rather to make way for it, which I fully intend the beginning of ye next week if weather and health Prevent not, craving the favor that you will not be from home at that Time, yet if yo'r occasions cannot comply with that Time, I shall endeavor to wait upon you at any other time that may suit you better. Not further to trouble you at this Time, but only to present ye inclosed to yo'r serious thoughts, I commend both it & you to ye Lord & wait for an Answer from Heaven in due season, meanwhile I am, & shall remain,

Yo'r True friend
& wel—wisher,
Michael Wigglesworth.

Maldon March 23, 1691.

I make bold to spread before you these following considerations which Possibly may help to clear up yo'r way before yo'r return an answer unto ye Motion w'ch I have made to you. I hope you will take them in good Part, and Ponder them seriously.

1st. I have a great perswasion that ye motion is of God, for diverse Reasons.

As first that I should get a little acquainted with you by a short & transient visit having been altogether a stranger to you before, and that so little acquaintance should leave such impressions behind it, as neither length of Time, distance of Place, nor any other objects could wear off, but that my thoughts & heart have been toward you ever since.

2ly. That upon serious, earnest, & frequent seeking of God for guidance & Direction in so weighty a matter, my thoughts have still been determined unto & fixed upon yo'rself as the most suitable Person for me.

3ly. In that I have not been led hereunto by fancy (as too many are in like cases) but by sound Reason & judgment, Principally Loving and desiring you for those gifts & graces God hath bestowed upon you, and Propounding ye Glory of God, the adorning and furtherance of ye Gospel. The spiritual as well as outward good of myself and family, together w'th ye good of yo'rself & children, as my Ends inducing me hereunto.

4ly. Be Pleased to Consider, that although you may Peradventure have offers made you by Persons more Eligible, yet you can hardly meet with one that can love better, or whose love is built upon a surer foundation, or that may be capable of doing more for you in some respects than myself. But let this be spoken with all humility, & without ostentation. I can never think meanly enough of myself.

3ly. Whither there be not a great sutableness in it for one that hath been a Physician's wife to match with a Physician. By this means you may in some things & at some Times afford more help than another, & in like manner receive help, get an increase of skill, and become capable of doing more that way hereafter if need should be.

4ly. Whither God doth not now invite you to ye doing of some more Eminent Service for him, than you are capable of doing in yo'r Present Private capacity? and whither those many Emptyings from vessel to vessel & great afflictions that have befaln you might not be sent with a design to fit you for further service, & to losen you from the ye Place & way you have been in?

5ly. Whither ye enjoyment of Christ in all his ordinances (which at present cannot be had where you are) be not a thing of that weight that may render this motion at this time somewhat more considerable?

6ly. Consider, if you should continue where you are whither ye looking after & managing of yo'r outward Business & affairs may not be too hard for you, and hazard your health again?

7ly. If God should exercise you with sickness again whither it were not more comfortable and safe to have a new and dear friend to take care of you and yours at such a Time, especially now when yo'r dear mother is gone to Heaven.

8ly. This following summer is Likely to be full of Trouble (unless God prevent beyond the expectation of man) by reason of our Indian and French Enemyes: now whither it may not be more comfortable and safe to get nearer the heart of the Country, than to continue where you are & to live as you do?

9ly. The consideration of ye many afflictions, losses & Bereavements which have befallen you, as it hath affected my heart with deep sympathy, so it hath been no small inducement to me to make this Motion, hopeing that if God should give it acceptance with you I might be a friend & a Comforter to you instead of your many lost Relations; and I hope upon trial you would find it so.

10ly. As my Late wife was a means under God of my recovering a better state of Health; so who knows but God may make you instrumental to Preserve & Prolong my health & life to do him service.

Obj. As to that main objection in respect of my Age, I can say nothing to that, But my Times are in the hands of God, who as he hath restored my health beyond expectation, can also if he Please Prolong it while he hath any service for me to do for his Name. And in ye mean time, if God shall Please and yourself be willing to Put me into that Capacity, I hope I shall do you as much Good in a little time as it is Possible for me to do, & use some endeavours also to Provide for yo'r future, as well as Present, welfare, as God's Bounty shall enable me; for true love cannot be idle.

Ob. And for ye other objection from ye number of my children & difficulty of guiding such a family. 1st. the Number may be lessened if there be need of it.

2ly. I shall gladly improve my Authority to strengthen yours (if God shall so Perswade your heart) to do what lieth in me to make the burden as light & comfortable as may be. And I am perswaded there would be a great suitableness in our tempers, spirits, Principles, & consequently a sweet and harmonious agreement in those matters (& in all other matters) betwixt us, and indeed this Perswasion is a Principle thing w'ch has induced me to make this motion to yo'rself & to no other.

Finally that I be not over tedious, I have great hope, that if God shall Perswade you to close with this Motion, the Consequents will be for ye furthurance of ye Gospel, for ye Comfort of us both, & of both our family's & that ye Lord will make us mutual helpers & Blessings to each other, & that we shall enjoy much of God together in such a Relation, without which no relation can be truly sweet."

The arguments of the Christian Poet proved unanswerable. Mrs. Avery became Mrs. Wigglesworth.

In the course of the wooing (at what period there is no record), a silver locket in the form of a heart was presented to the lady by her lover. This locket, not larger than a fourpence, is curiously wrought. On the front is a heart with wings on each side. It rests against an anchor; as if it had flown to her, and there found its resting place. On the back, the words "thine forever" are marked. After the death of Mrs. Wigglesworth it became the property of one of her daughters by her first marriage, Dorothy Avery; and descended to the great grandson of the original owner, Rev. Thomas Cary, pastor of the first religious society in Newburyport. Mr. Cary's colleague, Rev. Dr. Andrews, married a descendant of Michael Wigglesworth, a grand-daughter of the first Professor of Divinity in Harvard College, who was the only child born to Mr. Wigglesworth after his marriage with Mrs. Avery. Soon after the death of Mr. Cary's only daughter, the family of his colleague were passing a day at his house. After dinner Mr. Cary told the story of the locket, and produced it. A lilac ribbon had suspended it from the neck of a former owner. Mr. Cary placed it on that of his colleague's daughter, saying that it had remained in his family long enough, and now ought to go to another branch. There seemed indeed a propriety in its belonging to a descendant of both parties. The mother of the child to whom it was given had, after her father's death, received among other things a small silver box, the cover made of an English shilling, and on the bottom the letters S. W. were marked—the initials of Mrs. Avery's name after her second marriage. For what purpose the silver box was made had never been discovered or conjectured. A finger ring, unless smaller than the usual size, could not lie in it; but the little silver heart fitted in exactly. It was agreed by all who saw them that the box must have been made to keep the locket from harm; but that the latter having been worn round the neck, for a length of time, the box was forgotten; and on the death of Mrs. Wigglesworth, and the division of her effects among her children, her son had taken the box, and one of her daughters the locket, and so they had descended in different branches of the family; and after being separated three generations were re-united in the fourth.—*Christian Register.*

FATMÉ EFFENDI:

OR, THE LITTLE ABYSSINIAN SLAVE.

Translated from the French of Madame Belloe, for the "*Child's Friend.*"

"In a province of Abyssinia situated in the 12th degree of latitude, a poor child was taken prisoner at seven years of age and carried captive to Senaar, then to Nubia, and from thence to Egypt. Being sold and re-sold a number of times on the route, she was obliged to traverse on foot beneath a burning sky the hundreds of leagues which separate Abyssinia from Cairo. The nearer she drew to the city, the more her value increased for her master, inasmuch as the other slaves sinking under fatigue and privation, strewed the sand with their dead bodies, and thus marked out the track of the dire caravan. At length reaching Cairo, Fatmé, who was then ten years old, was conducted to the bazaar (or slave market) held in one of those low obscure halls where the hideous traffic in human flesh is carried on. There, exposed to sale with other little maidens, tricked out in tinsel and shivering beneath her unwashed garments, for the warm climate of Egypt, in comparison with that of Abyssinia, was to her a northern region, the poor child awaited whatever fate chance should allot to her. Perhaps her precocious intellect asked itself to what new master she was to belong; perhaps she meditated on the distances which she might yet have to traverse, or the new countries which she might yet have to visit, if she should not be sold here. There was, however, an energy in the mind of this child, a trust in God within her soul, which were to triumph over this extremity of misery and debasement.

"The purchasers arrived; the merchant extolled his goods; he made Fatmé and her companions get up; he made them walk and sit down; he showed their white teeth and bright eyes as signs of healthiness, their little lean taper fingers as the promise of expertness in handiwork. They were spoken to, to ascertain whether they could hear; in short, the bargain was concluded, they had become slaves to the Viceroy of Egypt.

"It was to no ordinary occupations, however, that these children were set apart. Bought in the market, without knowing what was expected of them, without any inquiries being made in regard to their tastes, they were to be instantly converted by order of Mahomet-Ali and Clot Bey, first into students of medicine and afterwards into physicians for women. Yes, they were intended to form a female school, from whence pupils might issue, capable of discharging in the hospitals the duties both of physicians and of sisters of charity.* It was necessary for them to learn the common Arabic which they did not understand, and also to be taught to read and write. Next they were to be instructed in the learned language, the Arabic of books, that they might be able to read the remarkable translations which have been made into that language, of our most distinguished French medical treatises. Among them all, Fatmé distinguished herself by her rapid improvement and wonderful aptitude for the sciences.

"'Always occupied, always at work, she suffered less from the climate than her companions. Out of the nine Abyssinians purchased with her, five have died of consumption, and two more are dying.

"'Up to this present time,' says M. de Ségur-Dupeyron, in a letter from which we borrow these interesting details, 'God has permitted Fatmé to resist this sad malady. She is cheerful and strong, and has a fine constitution. It is not the will of God that she should die. He has endowed her with a lofty intellect, and a memory never at fault; he has guided her through innumerable perils and hardships, from the centre of Africa where she would have lived a useless life, to the recesses of the slave market in Cairo, from whence she was to be taken, a poor captive, to commence the era of a new civilization.

"'Fatmé is kind, and earnestly interested for her companions, over whom she rules even more by the sweetness and equanimity of her character, than by the superiority of her knowledge. She is full of care for them, and lavishes continual tokens of her interest upon her two poor country-women and fellow pupils, whom she sees gradually wasting away. One of these two, named Keizeroun, was mournfully complaining; I said to her, through Fatmé, who understands French, though she does not yet speak it—'Employment is probably fatiguing to you, you ought to give yourself a respite for a season.' 'I would rather die, than not study,' replied the young girl; 'I want to become learned like Fatmé.' This answer was translated for us, which confused Fatmé excessively.

"'We put our questions in French to the head pupils; they were translated for them into Arabic, and their answers were translated for us. M. Bocti, who was all the time present at this examination, and who understands Arabic so well that it is impossible to cheat him, was in a constant rapture, for it was the first time of his visiting the hospital of Esbeckié.

"'Fatmé conversed upon physiology first, and then upon natural philosophy and chemistry. Very strange it was, to hear the words carbonic acid, oxygen, hydrogen, azote, &c., which for good reasons are left untranslated into the Arabic language, pronounced among all the Arabic words which came from that feminine mouth. She told us what were the component parts of air, and what was the office sustained by oxygen among the corporeal functions; she described the composition of the blood; she explained to us the uses in nature of the carbonic acid, &c. &c.

"'Indeed, this was not the first time that these young maidens had been called on to exhibit their proficiency before strangers, in the school. The most learned of the Oulemas (Mahometan scholars) had already visited them, and, after the examination, one of them cried out in his admiration, 'Our children who go to school at the mosque of El-Azar, would not have learned so much as these know, in twice as long a time.' Another, stroking his beard gravely, said, 'This is the beat of all!'*

"'The reputation of Fatmé, as you may well believe, has been noised abroad, and some days before we arrived in Cairo the daughter of the Viceroy having expressed a desire to receive some anatomical instruction from her, Fatmé had presented herself at the Harem, bringing with her a collection of anatomical preparations in wax. The princess was so much pleased with her, that she presented her with a magnificent diamond knot, to be fastened on her turban, and saluted her by the title of Effendi (corresponding to Rabbi), a title which will be continued to her.

"'When I requested to see her jewel, Fatmé, whose modesty seemed to have been aggrieved by the exclamations which our admiration of her learning had wrested from us, pouted a little, and almost refused to show it to us. But one of her companions, a young negress, with an air of roguishness lifted the muslin veil which concealed her turban, and we beheld a most magnificent *mach-allah* (the name of the diamond ornament) of the size of a hand's breadth, which not a single pupil viewed with envy, but all seemed to exhibit with pride. 'Fatmé is a mother to us,' said the Abyssinians, the Fellahs and the negresses—for at the time when the 'Beggars' Asylum' was founded, they picked up on the pavements of Cairo unfortunate young girls from the country, who were a prey to the direst misery, and made them pupils of the school.

"'The natives of Abyssinnia with their sweet mournful faces, are superior in intelligence also to the Fellah race, and this again ranks higher than the negro. These degrees of capacity are observable in the progress of these young women.

"'The establishment of the department of female physicians in the hospital of Esbeckié, has been already productive of the happiest results. The internal arrangement of the wards is judiciously conducted, and the attendance is performed with method and neatness. Moreover, poor women have not hesitated to apply for medical aid, since they have had the assurance that they should be nursed by persons of their own sex. The young female physicians assume the special charge of the infants born in the hospital, which are confided to them. They all wanted us to admire the grace and healthiness of their adopted children; each one added, 'This child is mine, is it not superior to the others?'

"'Formerly too, when only men vaccinated, no one wished to carry his child to the vaccinator, because it was thought that the Pacha used this means for marking the children, to prevent their escaping from the conscription; but ever since women have had the charge of the operation, the fear has diminished to that degree that in eight months no less than three thousand were vaccinated, making about twelve a day. I saw the lists which had been drawn up by the female physicians, and they were executed with the neatness of the most beautiful manuscripts.

"'Upon leaving Fatmé, I said to her, 'Fatmé, you are as pretty, as you are well informed.' 'Of what consequence is it whether I am pretty, provided I be learned?' was her reply, 'I have married knowledge.' I added, 'Fatm,é you do honor to Africa!'—'I wish that I may,' she answered, 'but I am laboring for it, and some time or other, *inch-Allah!* (Please God) I shall know something.'"

Children of New England—

Can you read the above account of this young Abyssinian, without thanking God, not only for exempting your childhood from the cruel sufferings endured by her, but for permitting you to be born in a section of our country from which the baleful institution of slavery is excluded? Yet while you contemplate her serene and dignified composure, and the loftiness of her aim in life, do you not bow in reverence to her character? In view of her persevering zeal in the pursuit of knowledge, do not your cheeks tingle with ingenuous shame, at the contrast between her industry and your own? No mother's loving persuasion, no father's approving smile stimulated or rewarded her exertions. No expectation of being compensated by future emancipation, supplied an end or motive to her toil; hopeless slavery was her lot in life. But in loving knowledge for its own exceeding excellence, she found a balm for all her sufferings; while her example proves that no meanness of outward condition has power to debase the mind. Let Blandina, the slave but Christian martyr, let Fatmé, the black slave but learned physician and noble patriot, ever teach you, that goodness and wisdom are treasures independent of outward rank, and that the slave is to be honored as a fellow-heir with yourselves to the noblest faculties of the human soul.

In a note at the end of the narrative Madame Belloe vouches for the truth of it, in the following words:

"This is no story invented at pleasure, my dear young readers, for your amusement; it is the veritable narrative of a person who saw and conversed with Fatmé. I know not whether you will be struck with it like myself, but I cannot read it without emotion, without admiration. So keen a desire for information, such laborious persevering efforts made by a poor young slave that she might be able to help other poor women, seem to me a beautiful example by which all the world, both great and small, may profit." L. O.

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* The beautiful name given by the Catholic religion to the pious nurses of the sick.

* Ceci est le dessus du dessus.

HOW TO MAKE HOME UNHEALTHY.

THE LIGHT NUISANCE.

Tieck tells us in his "History of the Scildburger," that the town council of that spirited community was very wise. It had been noticed that many worthy alderman and common-councillors were in the habit of looking out the window when they ought to be attending to their duties. A vote was, therefore, on one occasion, passed by a large majority, to this effect, namely—Whereas the windows of the town hall are a great impediment to the despatch of public business, it is ordered that before the next day of meeting they be all bricked up. When the next day of meeting came, the worthy representatives of Schildburg were surprised to find themselves assembling in the dark. Presently, accepting the unlooked-for fact, they settled down into an edifying discussion of the question, whether darkness was not more convenient for their purposes than daylight. Had you and I been there, my friend, our votes in the division would have been, like the vote in our House of Commons a few days ago, for keeping out the Light Nuisance as much as possible. Darkness is better than daylight, certainly.

Now this admits of proof. For, let me ask, where do you find the best part of a lettuce?—not in the outside leaves. Which are the choice parts of celery?—of course, the white shoots in the middle.—Why, sir? Because light has never come to them. They become white and luxurious by tying up, by earthing up, by any contrivance which has kept the sun at bay. It is the same with man: while we obstruct the light by putting brick and board where glass suggests itself, and mock the light by picturing impracticable windows on our outside walls,—so that our houses stare about like blind men with glass eyes,—while this is done we sit home and blanch, we become in our dim apartments pale and delicate, we grow to look refined, as gentleman and ladies ought to look. Let the sanitary doctor at whose head we have thrown lettuces, go to the botanist and ask him, How is this? Let him come back and tell us, Oh, gentlemen, in these vegetables the natural juices are not formed when you exclude the light. The natural juices in the lettuce or in celery are flavored much more strongly than our tastes would relish, and therefore we induce in these plants an imperfect development in order to make them eatable. Very well. The natural juices in a man are stronger than good taste can tolerate. Man requires horticulture to be fit to come to table. To rear the finer sorts of human kindness one great operation necessary is to banish light as much as possible.

Ladies know that. To keep their faces pale, they pull the blinds down in the drawing-room, they put a veil between their countenances and the sun when they go out, and carry, like good soldiers, a great shield on high, by name a parasol, to ward his darts off. They know better than to let the old god kiss them into color, as he does the peaches. They choose to remain green fruit: and we all know that to be a delicacy.

Yet there are men among us daring to propose that there shall no longer be protection against light: men who would tax a house by its capaciousness, and let the sun shine into it unhindered. The so-called sanitary people really seem to look upon their fellow creatures as so many cucumbers. But we have not yet fallen so far back in our development. Disease is a privilege. Those only who know the tender touch of a wife's hand, the quiet kiss, the soothing whisper can appreciate its worth. All who are not dead to the tenderest emotions will lament the day when light is turned on without limit in our houses. We have no wish to be blazed upon. Frequently pestilence itself avoids the sunny side of any street, and prefers walking in the shade. Nay, even in one building, as in the case of a great barrack at St. Petersburg, there will be three calls made by disease upon the shady side of the establishment for every one visit that it pays to the side brightened by the sun; and this is known to happen uniformly, for a series of years. Let us be warned, then. There must be no increase of windows in our houses; let us curtain those we have, and keep our blinds well down. Let morning sun or afternoon sun fire no volleys in upon us. Faded curtains, faded carpets, all ye blinds forbid! But faded faces are desirable. It is a cheering spectacle on summer afternoons to see the bright rays beating on a row of windows, all the way down a street, and failing to find entrance anywhere. Who wants more windows? Is it not obvious that, when daylight really comes, every window we possess is counted one too many? If we could send up a large baloon into the sky, with Mr. Braidwood and a fire-engine, to get the sun under, just a little bit, that would be something rational. More light, indeed! More water next, no doubt! As if it were not perfectly notorious that in the articles of light, water and air, Nature outran the constable. We have to keep out light with blinds and veils, and various machinery, as we would keep out cockroaches with wafers; we keep out air with pads and curtains; and still there are impertinent reformers clamoring to increase our difficulty, by giving us more windows to protect against the inroads of those household nuisances.

I call upon consistent Englishmen to make a stand against these innovaters. There is need of all our vigor. In 1848 the repeal of the window tax was scouted from the Commons by a sensible majority of nine ty-four. Last week the good cause triumphed only by a precarious majority of three. The exertions of right-thinking men will not be wanting, when the value and importance of a little energetic labor is once clearly perceived.

What is it that the sanitary agitators want? To tan and freckle all their country women, and to make Britons apple-faced? The Persian hero, Rustum, when a baby, exhausted seven nurses, and was weaned upon seven sheep a day, when he was of age for spoon-meat. Are English babies to be Rustums? When Rustum's mother, Roubadah, from a high tower first saw and admired her future husband Zal, she let her ringlets fall, and they were long and reached unto the ground, and Zal climbed up by them, and knelt down at her feet and asked to marry her. Are British ladies to be strengthened into Roubadahs, with hair like a ship's cable up which husbands may clamber? In the present state of the mania for Public Health, it is quite time that every patriotic man should put these questions seriously to his conscience.

One topic more. Let it be clearly understood that against artificial light we can make no objections. Between sun and candle there are more contrast than the mere difference in brilliancy. The light which comes down from the sky not only eats no air out of our mouths, but it comes charged with misterious and subtle principles which have a purifying, vivifying power. It is a powerful ally of health, and we make war against it. But artificial light contains no sanitary marvels. When the gas streams through half-a-dozen jets into your room, and burns there and gives light; when candles become shorter and shorter until they are "burnt out" and seen no more; you know what happens. Nothing in Nature ceases to exist. Your camphene has left the lamp but it has not vanished out of being. Nor has it been converted into light. Light is a visible action; and candles are not more converted into light when they are burning, than breath is converted into speech when you are talking. The breath, having produced speech, mixes with the atmosphere; gas, champhene, candles, having produced light, do the same. If you saw fifty wax-lights shrink to their sockets last week in an unventilated ball-room, yet, though invisible, they had not left you; for their elements were in the room, and you were breathing them. Their light had been a sign that they were combining chemically with the air; in so combining they were changed, but they became a poison. Every artificial light is of necessity a little workshop for the conversion of gas, oil, spirit, or candles into respirable poison. Let no sanitary tongue persuade you that the more we have of such a process, the more need we have of ventilation. Ventilation is a catch-word for the use of agitators, in which it does not become any person of refinement to exhibit interest.

The following hint will be received thankfully by gentlemen who would be glad to merit spectacles.—To make your eyes weak, use a fluctuating light; nothing can be better adapted for your purpose than what are called "mould" candles. The joke of them consists in this:—they begin with giving you sufficient light, but, as the wick grows, the radiance lessens, and your eye gradually accommodates itself to the decrease: suddenly they are snuffed, and your eye leaps back to its original adjustment, there begins another slide, and then leaps back again.—Much practice of this kind serves very well as a familiar introduction to the use of glasses.—*Harriet Martineau.*

THE PROSPECTS OF EVANGELICAL CHRISTIANITY.

The newspaper organs of the Orthodox Dissenters report a very striking speech made by the Rev. H. Dobney, a Baptist minister of Maidstone, at the annual meeting of the Baptist Home Mission. The remarks extending to a great length, we can do little more than indicate their general purport. There had been evoked, he said, through the land, a gigantic spirit of doubt and denial, and where that had not penetrated, a mighty spirit of inquiry that would push to the very furthest limits the great Protestant principle of the right and duty of private judgment. The sceptical spirit he alluded to was "not unfrequently found in union with a spirit of truthfulness, and earnestness, and devoutness even, which might not shrink from challenging a comparison with the Evangelical body itself." This movement was by no means confined to the upper classes. "I ask any one who is competently acquainted with the great mass of the working classes, whether you can go amongst them and dogmatically affirm any of the peculiar truths of the gospel, and lay your hand upon any section of the Bible, demanding the man's belief and obedience? Brethren, dare to have it said, that in ten thousand times ten thousand instances you cannot; the man will compel you to meet other and vastly more difficult questions, before he will allow you to speak to him from that platfrom—(hear, hear). Because some of us may go among them with a black coat, or be known to be connected with some Zion Chapel or Ebenezer Chapel, or Cave of Adullam—(laughter), and take the Bible in our hand, will the men deem us holier, and wiser and better than themselves? Not a bit of it. And why should they? It has to be shown to them by a long course of something else previously. You might think that such works as Theodore Parker's and Strauss' 'Life of Jesus,' are, from their nature and their price, confined to the classes that are naturally deemed respectable. My brethren, flatter yourselves no longer. Theodore Parker, with so much that is bold and beautiful, but with so much that is most plausibly untrue—a man that has about him so much of the old prophet force—a man by whom ten thousand minds are prepared to swear—is not confined to mere respectable classes. Theodore Parker, for which I gave 8s. 6d., is now published in penny numbers, and is bound up, making 320 pages for 1s. 9d. I asked a gentleman competent to judge upon the subject, the other day, how many copies he should suppose must be sold to defray the expenses, and the answer I received was, "Thirty thousand." Should it not be in the hands of ministers and godly people? My own painful belief is, that multitudes of us, who would be ready to die for the sake of Christ, are but ill-prepared to meet the specious forms of error that are rising up amongst us. Is Strauss confined to the colleges? He is now being popularized for the million by one who, in the former part of his life, was a local preacher among the Wesleyans, who has been several times referred to in the British House of Commons, and who was eulogized by Mr. Serjeant Talfourd as one of the four of our chief leading poets—the author of 'The Purgatory of Suicides;' and this man with energy, talent, and power, and who knows what the class are to which he is opposed, and what are their religious sympathies—is putting out, in weekly numbers of his journal, at one penny each, what he calls 'An Exigesis of Gospel History, on the basis of Strauss.' Thousands of our working classes are so familiar with Strauss' opinions—such as that there is a vast deal in our four Gospels that is merely mythical and legendary—that they have them at their finger's ends. And when I look for an evangelical body—the counteracting agencies that are at work—and ask whether the opposition, the bearing, the tone of the evangelical body, is such as to inspire one with confidence as to the immediate issue of the conflict on which we are entering, then sir, I find that the organs of all the sections of the evangelical body that I know anything of, are confessing that nothing like this is the case."

The Rev. Gentleman then showed "the state of comparative bondage" in which men must allow themselves to be held, if they give themselves for work to any of the evangelical denominations. "I have been in the pastorate sixteen or seventeen years, and have endeavored to read, as well as I could, the passing occurrences of the day; but who does not know, that thoughtful men amongst us scarcely dare to carry out for themselves what is so much vaunted, and to my mind, so idly vaunted—the Protestant principle of the right and duty of private judgement—and endeavor, as in duty bound to sit only at the feet of their great Master, their adorable Redeemer, and allow themselves to be earnest and honest in their thinking and in their avowal of their thoughts. Where are such men, speaking generally; What denomination will welcome them to its bosom? (hear hear.) Who does not know that the mere lexographical distinction between two words may suffice to brand a man with infidelity? (hear. hear.) They used to pelt with Unitarianism Socinianism as stones—now these are not hard enough. There are many who are trying to make infidelity very respectable, and to make it a watchword for men of free thought, however much their sympathies may keep them at the feet of their common Lord and Master; but can a man give his thoughts upon British churches without being exposed to evangelical misrepresentation and slander? (hear, hear)."

The following remarks occur just before the conclusion of the speech. "We shall have to fight over again on British ground the battle that has been fought in Germany. The battle having been waging there for the chief part of this present century, we naturally turn to see how the veterans in that holy war have acquitted themselves. For the first few years of that encounter, the friends of evangelical truth were notoriously worsted, and they themselves have since acknowledged it until, not sacrificing one iota of truth eternal and absolute, they learned to distinguish between the old scholastic, antiquated forms, in which that eternal truth had come to be wrapped up, and laid aside those forms of truth which have become obsolute, and learned for themselves a living Christianity from the only and original source of divine life—(cheers)."—*London Inquirer.*

Gleanings from Foreign Publications.

"Squash Pumpkin, Esq.," in a letter to the *Bridgetown Liberal* (Jamaica), adds to the unfavorable criticisms upon Mr. Carlyle.—"You be one big bag o' wind, massa Carlyle; and doe you say you lub and waship de Hearohs, you lub noting but de god Hehoreus. De propper buk for you to studdy be de buk on de Harry.cane by our late worde Gubnor. You be all Wind, and you make tings upside down, and tak um by de wrong end, like de Yankease et de Sparrergrass, as Massa Cobbett says."

—On the 6th inst., the holy girdle, which tradition says the Virgin Mary herself presented to the city of Tortosa, was solemnly deposited upon the altar of the royal chapel at Madrid, after being duly prayed over by an archbishop and two bishops. The correspondent of the *Daily News* says it is to be placed "on the Queen's bed for some hours before the time of her expected confinement!!

—"Some American Swindlers," says the *Lincoln Mercury*, "are trying the gullibility of John Bull in regard to lotteries. Several of the citizens of Lincoln have received letters from New York, inviting their attention to the 'Virginia State Lottery, for the benefit of Monongalia Academy.' The postage upon each letter amounts to a shilling."

—A Female Laureate!—A correspondent of the *London News* complains that several distinguished men have been indicated as worthy to succeed the venerable Wordsworth in the laureateship, "but no person seems to have recollected that England possesses an Elizabeth Barrett Browning, a Mary Howitt, a Caroline Southey, and a Caroline Norton, women who, in the true poetic genius, are at least equal to the poets whose respective claims have been brought forward in various journals, English and Scotch."

—American Treatment of English Colored Seamen.—*To the Editor of the Morning Chronicle.*—Sir: In the discussion now going on respecting the conduct of South Carolina towards colored seamen in the British service, neither in Parliament nor out of it has the worst feature of the American law been noticed. If Captain Waddington, of the Mary Ann, instead of paying the gaol fees for his colored steward, had sailed from Charleston, leaving Bowers in prison, that poor fellow, though a black subject of the Queen of England, would have been put upon the auction-block, sold as a slave, his "blood-money" placed in the coffers of the State of South Carolina, and himself sent to pass the remainder of his days in the cotton plantations or the rice swamps of the far south. I am, sir, your obedient servant, J. B. Estlin—47, Park street, Bristol, April 30, 1850.

—New Scientific Discovery.—The Paris correspondent of the *London Times* says: "The scientific world has been in a state of commotion during the whole week, in consequence of the publication of the discovery of the long sought for secret of the fusion and crystilization of carbon. The Sorbonne has been crowded for the last few days to behold the result of this discovery in the shape of a tolerably-sized diamond of great luster, which M. Desprezt, the happy discoverer, submits to the examination of every chemist or *savant* who chooses to visit him. He declares that as long ago as last Autumn he had succeeded in producing the diamond, but in such minute particles as to be visible only through the microscope, and, fearful of raising irony and suspicion, he had kept the secret until, by dint of repeated experiments and great labor, he had completed the one he now offers to public view. Four solar lens of immense power, aided by the tremendous galvanic pile of the Sorbonne, have been the means of producing the result now before us. M. Desprezt holds himself ready to display the experiment whenever it may be required. The diamond produced is of the quality known in the East as the black diamond, one single specimen of which was sold by Prince Rostoff to the late Duke of York, for the enormous sum of £12,000!"

[The diamond was successfully produced, though in minute particles, from carbon, twenty years ago.]

—Lecture on Slavery.—The *Norwich Mercury* gives an interesting report of a lecture on slavery in that city, by the escaped slave, Mr. Wells Brown. At its close, the Sheriff of Norwich proposed a resolution expressive of the thanks of the meeting to Mr. Brown, and with the earnest hope that Heaven would bless the efforts of those who advocated the cause of the poor slave. The Rev. J. Crompton said he had met the lecturer a short time since in the Peace Congress at Paris, and related several anecdotes connected with his escape. Mr. Gurney also spoke at some length. Mr. Brown, in reply, remarked that the kindness he had experienced since he had been in England, had been more than he could describe, but they might rest assured he should not easily forget Norwich.

—Mesmeric Influence.—A correspondent of the *Morning Chronicle* tells a story respecting the arrival at Peterhead of the Hamilton Ross, whaler, having made the voyage out and in, in two months and three days, being the quickest ever made, and bringing 153 tuns of blubber—the event having been "distinctly and positively announced by a boy under mesmeric influence in Peterhead." He stated lately, in the presence of a large audience, that the Hamilton Ross would be the first vessel to arrive, on the 5th of May, with 14,000 seals (about 150 tuns). The boy was asked what he saw on board the Hamilton Ross at the time he was speaking, and replied, that he saw the captain and doctor in the cabin hanging over the mate, who had got his hand hurt, "a circumstance which proves to have been true at the exact date mentioned." At the same time the boy stated "that Sir John Franklin was quite well, but looking thin, and would return safe."

—Two Hundred and Eighty-four Slaves Re-Captured.—The London Standard, of the 28d, publishes the following particulars of a slaver, by H. M. schooner Bermuda, Lieut. Jolly:

"The Bermuda, it seems, was at anchor in the Bight of Pines, off the Isle of Pines, on the south side of Cuba, on the 20th ult., when a low, suspicious looking brig was discovered outside, steering for land, but without showing any colors. Suspecting the vessel to be a slaver, Lieut. Jolly immediately got his little vessel under way, and stood out for the purpose of overhauling and examining her. The brig, however, on discovering the Bermuda, at once altered her course, and made all sail off the land, the Bermuda in chase, and it was not until after a run of 49 hours, when the chase had made considerable way into the Gulf of Mexico, that the Bermuda succeeded in disabling her, and making her a prize.

"In the course of the chase, eighty shots were fired from the Bermuda, many of which told on the rigging, which was eventually so disabled as to make her an easy prize. She proved to be the Clementio, of Rio Janeiro, 176 tons Brazilian measurement, commanded by Joas Goncales Bandeira. She had on board, when taken, 284 slaves, of whom, however, several have died since their capture. from the state of debility in which they were, in consequence of the want of food, which was entirely out when she was captured. The vessel had Brazillian papers, dated in November, 1849, and, prior to her surrender, she hoisted Brazilian colors. She had taken a Cuban pilot on board, and was about to land her cargo on the Isle of Pines, when discovered by H. M. schooner.

"The brig is a very beautiful one, and a clipper. She is coppered, and said to be worth one thousand pounds

"The vessel and cargo will be proceeded against in the Vice Admiralty Court, under the British statute, which specially gives jurisdiction to the Vice Admiralty Courts iu similar cases.

"The Africans are to be landed this morning at Fort Augusta, as we have been given to understand."

The same journal, of the 25th, gives the following account of the disposition of the slaves:

"The Africans who formed the cargo of the brig Clementio, prize to H. M. schooner Bermuda, were landed, to the number of 245 (all who survive of the 284 on board the prize at the time of her capture), on Thursday morning, at Fort Augusta, in compliance with an order of the Executive, from which period they are placed under the charge of the principal officers of the customs of Kingston. We learn that, as a body, the Africans were in better health and condition than they are usually landed in after so long a voyage. A few of them, however, were affected with scurvy, and were very weak, and it is probable that several deaths will yet take place among them. The majority of them are represented as being healthy and comparatively strong.

"They will remain at Fort Augusta until the adjudication of the vessel and cargo by the Vice Admiralty Court, and they will then no doubt be placed under the charge of the Agent General of Immigration, to be disposed of by him according to the provisions of the British statute, which directs that any slaves taken and condemned in Jamaica should be apprenticed out for seven years. These people cannot, of course, come within the provisions of our immigration acts. We hope that whenever it becomes the duty of the Executive or others to dispose of the cargo they will be carefully apportioned among agricultural applicants, and not converted into domestic servants, as a former cargo was, many years ago, to the great injury of the people themselves, and to the vast discomfort of those who received them."

—Vampyres.—"You wish, my dear cousin, to be exactly informed of what takes place in Hungary, concerning ghosts, who cause the death of many people in that country. I can write to you learnedly upon it, for I have been several years in those quarters, and I am naturally curious. I have heard in my lifetime an infinite number of such stories, concerning spirits and sorceries, but out of a thousand, I have hardly believed a single one. We cannot be too circumspect on the matter, from the danger of being duped. Nevertheless, there are certain facts so well attested, that one cannot help believing them. As to the ghosts of Hungary, the thing takes place in this manner: A person finds himself attacked with langor, loses his appetite, grows visibly thinner, and, at the end of eight or ten days, sometimes a fortnight, dies without fever, or any other symptom than thinness and drying up the blood."

"They say in that country that it is a ghost which attaches itself to such a person, and sucks his blood. Of those who are attacked by this malady, the greater part think they see a white spectre, which follows them everywhere, as the shadow follows the body. When we were quartered among the Wallachians, in the ban of Temeswar, two horsemen of the company in which I was cornet died of this malady, and several others, who also were attacked with it, would have died in the same manner, if a corporal of our company had not put a stop to the disorder by employing the remedy used by the country people in such case. It is very remarkable, and though infallible, I never saw it in any ritual. This is it: They choose a boy, young enough to be certain that he is innocent of any impurity. They place him on an unmutilated horse, which has never stumbled, and is absolutely black. They make him ride about the cemetery, and pass over all the graves: that over which the animal refuses to pass, in spite of repeated blows from a switch that is delivered to his rider, is reputed to be filled by a vampire. They open this grave, and find therein a corpse, as fat and handsome as if he were a man, happily and quietly sleeping. They cut the throat of this corpse with the stroke of a spade, and there flows forth the finest vermilion blood in great quantity. One might swear it was a healthy living man whose throat they were cutting. This done, they fill up the grave, and we may reckon that the malady will cease, and that all those who had been attacked by it will recover their strength by degrees. That happened precisely to our horsemen who had been seized with it. I was then commandant of the company, my captain and my lieutenant being absent. I was piqued at the corporal's having made the experiment without me, and I had all the trouble in the world to resist the inclination I felt to give him a good caning—a merchandise which is very cheap in the emperor's troops. I would have given the world to be present at this operation; but I was obliged to make myself contented, as it was."

—A Black Prima Donna.—*The Tribune* translates from the *Presse* the following description of a new musical celebrity at Paris:

"People have often spoken of a black Malibran, and her existence has been considered as a theatrical humbug. But a thing need only be often said, in order to be realized: the news was false before, but it is now true. The black Malibran is no fiction; we have heard her. Madame Marie Martiner, born at Havana, is the first chamber singer to her Catholic Majesty the Queen of Spain. In going from Madrid to London, she has decided to remain at Paris."

"At what theater will she present herself to the curiosity of the public? Or even will she make her appearance at all? We are unable to say. All that we know is, she has a magnificent soprano voice, whose notes, vibrating and pearly when high, soft and velvety in the medium, have in the low tones the masculine ring of the contralto. There is something strange and savage in these extreme sounds, which have never been heard from our European throats. Madame Martinez accompanies herself on the guitar, which, in her skillful hands, is completely transformed; the instrument is no longer grinding or monotonous; sometimes it is sweet and delicious as a harmony of flutes or hautboys; then, it let falls a torrent of passionate notes rolling like a drum. All this is poetical and charming. But what will surprise our dilletanti, will be to hear her vocalize like Madame Persiani, and also to draw out such fine tones, as if she had practiced ten years with a class of the Conservatory under Rubini or Duprez."

—Kerry Scholastic.—Schoolmaster loquiter: S. Here now, isn't this a lovely letter, Terry? Did you ever see a swan in full sail? That's him to the life, if there was only a sup of water under him. You must call out Ess (Terry: Ess!) You have it nate. See how stately he is! a mighty, elegant, stout, clever looking letter, and one of the best in the whole alphabet, being the father, and grandfather, and great grandfather of all the Saints in the blessed calendar, that would be no Saints at all but for his introduction. So you must rivirence the S beyond all other letters; and remember that he stands for Sunday, and Soap, wanst a week before going to overtake the Mass; and Salt with the potatoes that day any how; and Saxons (bad scran to them) that driv us into holes and corners (myself of the raal stock that says *that*;) and School, where yer getting into great learning already, and will soon come to the history of Scipio, king of the ould Romans, and Solomon that built the biggest chapel in the world; and Samson, that pulled it down over his own shoulders. And now, Terry dear, don't forget that S stands for Straw: and remind yer father of the holes there in the roof, that he promised to mend up for me agin winter, and that its for an O'Sullivan! T. Down you pop now to T, a raal nate letter, balanced as true as a rope dancer at the fair. Bawl and Tee! (Terry: *Tay!*) No, that's *Tay*, what the quality is to be drinking with crame and lumps of sugar in it. Try again, Tee! (Terry: Tee!) That's right, my dear, and you'll know him again when you'll see Mick Halloran coming up from the river with two piggins of water hanging across the lift over his shoulders. You must know he stands for *Tutor*, and I being your tutor, he stands for me, and likewise for Turf, and Twopence (the regulations of this flourishing academy,) and Tiber, the great river that runs through Rome, and Throy, a big city in the Aste, that was taken by the Phenishons just before they came to settle in auld Ireland. It also stands for Tara, in the county of Meath, the capital of the country in ancient times, and twice the size of Dublin, that's only a new city, and them that lives in it none of the raal Irish at all, but mostly new comers, an' very troublesome people and hard to plase. My hand t'ye, I wouldn't give a stone out of culd Trinity for all the burnt bricks and smoky chimneys in Dublin, that were never heard tell of in auld times!—Move along now.—*Dublin University Magazine.*